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UNIT STUDIES IN AMERICAN PROBLEMS

LATIN AMERICA

AND THE WORLD STRUGGLE

FOR FREEDOM



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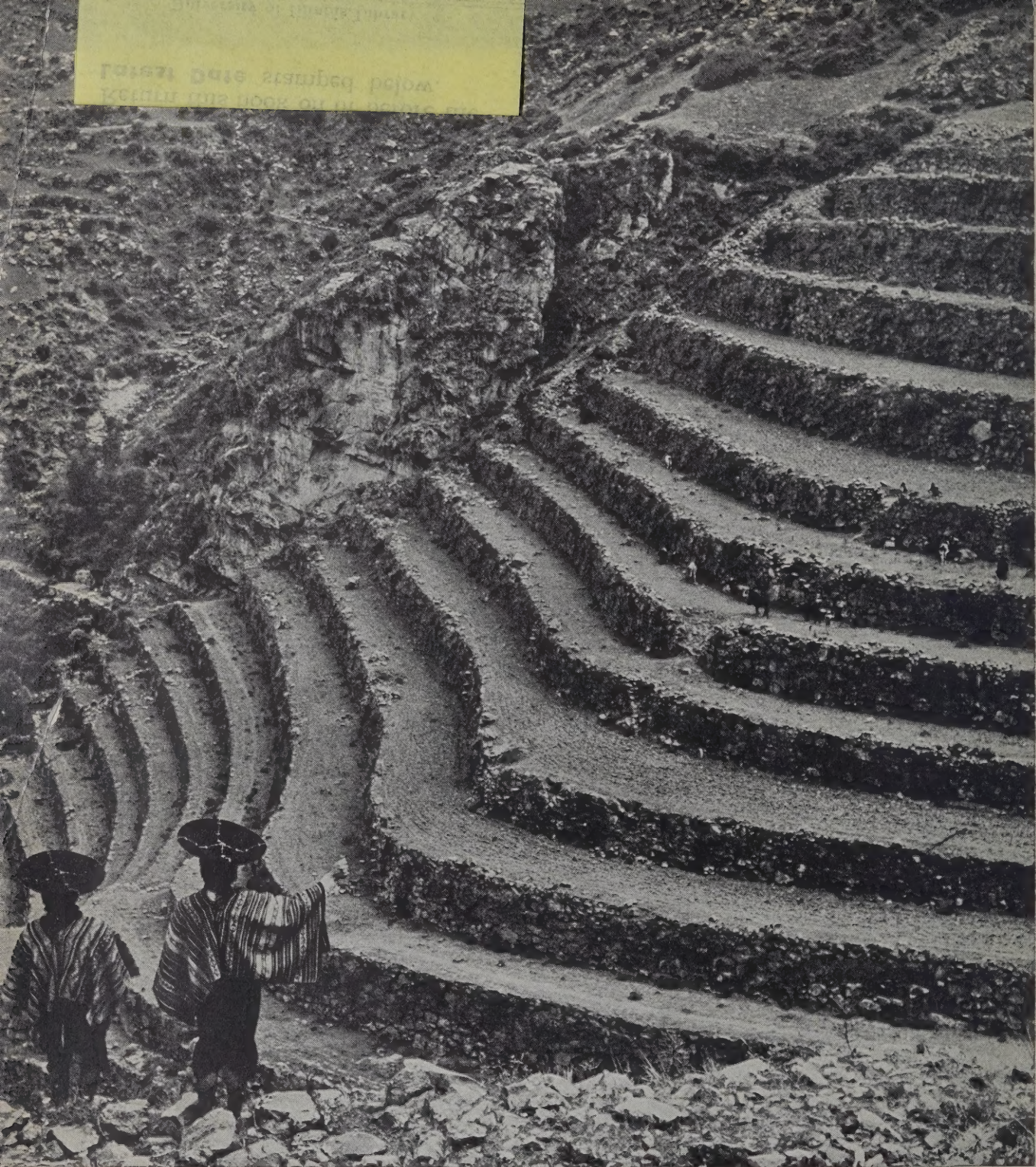
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UNIT STUDIES IN AMERICAN PROBLEMS

LATIN AMERICA

AND THE WORLD STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

PREPARED BY

RYLAND W. CRARY

UNIVERSITY HIGH SCHOOL, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

FOR THE
COMMITTEE ON EXPERIMENTAL UNITS
OF THE
NORTH CENTRAL ASSOCIATION
OF COLLEGES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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The picture on the cover shows a view of Ouro Preto in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil, and is from a photograph by G. E. Kidder Smith for the Museum of Modern Art, New York

P R E F A C E

THE COMMITTEE ON EXPERIMENTAL UNITS of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools has conceived its task to be that of contributing to the improvement of instruction in secondary schools. The social studies, as an important part of the curriculum, are often criticized because they do not deal realistically with current, unsolved problems of our society. A primary reason for the lack of application to existing problems is that authentic, unbiased, and relatively complete information suited to the experience and reading ability of high-school students is seldom available. The committee, through more than five years of exploration of possibilities, has sponsored study, research, sampling of opinions of teachers, and experimental use of materials in mimeographed form. They have been thoroughly convinced of the need for a new form of text material, and of the possibility of supplying the need through co-operative effort. The committee, with the approval of the Executive Committee of the North Central Association, has set itself the task of producing several sample units which teachers may use in developing courses that give major attention to the insistent, continuing problems of society. If the samples have merit, and are purchased and used in sufficient quantity, writers and publishers may be expected to continue supplying the need without the direct sponsorship of educational organizations, and the work of the committee will have justified itself completely.

Two units were published in 1939: *Why Taxes?* written by Mr. Edward Krug, of the Santa Barbara City Schools, California; and

Civil Service, written by Mr. C. C. Carrothers, of the New Jersey State Teachers College, Montclair, New Jersey. Their reception encouraged the production of two additional units in 1940: *Housing*, written by Mr. A. W. Troelstrup, of New Trier Township High School, Winnetka, Illinois; and *Democracy and Its Competitors*, written by Mr. Earl S. Kalp and Mr. Robert Morgan, of Theodore Roosevelt High School, Des Moines, Iowa. *The Defense of the Western Hemisphere*, also prepared by Mr. Earl S. Kalp and Mr. Robert Morgan, was published in 1941. *Government in Business*, prepared by Mrs. Mary Pieters Keohane, formerly of the South High School, Grand Rapids, Michigan; *In the Service with Uncle Sam*, prepared by Mr. Earl S. Kalp; and *Youth and Jobs*, prepared by Mr. Douglas S. Ward and Miss Edith M. Selberg, of the Colorado State College of Education, Greeley, Colorado, appeared in 1942. *Latin America and the World Struggle for Freedom*, prepared by Mr. Ryland W. Crary, of the University High School, University of Iowa, is now added to the list. Additional units on timely topics are under consideration by the committee and will be published from time to time.

American democracy will live and succeed if it has enough interested, informed citizens who know how to study current issues for the purpose of finding a considered, rational course of action based upon sound information and personal decision. The Unit Studies in American Problems are wholeheartedly dedicated to the development of citizens who have had directed experience in such civic practices.

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LATIN AMERICA

AND THE WORLD STRUGGLE

FOR FREEDOM

INTRODUCTION

SINCE our nation has tried to live down its reputation south of the Rio Grande as the "Colossus of the North" and has sought to establish a new one as the "Good Neighbor," interest in Latin America has increased a hundredfold. Since "hemisphere solidarity" depends on this interest being applied to good uses, it is important that we develop it intelligently. There is definitely a way to approach a study of Latin America and a way not to approach it. For example, we should not overemphasize the role of the bizarre and picturesque, though to be sure there is a good deal of each. There is the Transandine Railroad, where the conductors have oxygen tanks for passengers in distress on the 12,000-foot-high passes; there are Indians of the interior living by folkways centuries old; there was once a war in which over three fourths of one country's population was wiped out. But Latin America is not to be understood in terms of the bizarre and picturesque alone.

There is also the danger of the "comic opera" approach to South America. This has nothing to commend it and everything against it. Hollywood, a few months ago, produced a worthless picture depicting Argentina in the most false and ridiculous way and making of this great nation a rather funny place where anyone you met was as likely to be a bandit as not. What do you suppose this picture did for "good-neighborliness" when it was exhibited in Buenos Aires?

It is well also to be warned away from approaching Latin America in the mood of

the reformer and missionary. To be sure, Latin America has its social, educational, and economic problems, all of which are worthy of our study in order that we may know our neighbors better and may better understand their domestic difficulties. But do we not have unsolved problems also? How would we receive unsought meddling in our domestic issues from nations outside?

Furthermore, we should avoid the error of approaching Latin America as Spanish America only. Spain was the mother country of much of South America, to be sure, and her influence was great and lasting; yet some have even suggested that Indo-America would be a better name than Latin America, because of the great influence of Indian blood and customs. Then, too, it is well to remember that the largest and most populous nation of the south is Portuguese-speaking and looks back to Portugal as the motherland. In addition there are the millions of immigrants—Italians, English, Germans, Japanese, and others—whose influence on the social and cultural life of Latin America is not to be ignored.

With a warning as to the pitfalls of these false approaches to Latin America in mind, how then can we appropriately and profitably study our neighbors of the Western Hemisphere?

It is obvious that we must dip into the history of Latin America to know its present. Who were its natives? How and why did Europe become interested in settlement? How did these colonies emerge as independ-

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ent nations? What occurrences of the past, such as disputes, boundary adjustments, and wars, influence national attitudes there today? By the same token, it is also clear that we must acquire the basic geographical concepts of this region, to "get the lay of the land," as it were.

The people and nations as they are today must also be surveyed. Problems of race are important in Latin America and vary greatly from country to country. We find, for example, nations almost entirely of the white race, such as Uruguay and Argentina; nearly solidly Indian nations, such as Bolivia and Paraguay; and Brazil, which has strong racial strains of white, Indian, and Negro blood. How, too, can we become aware of Latin America without an acquaintance with its great metropolitan cities: Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, and Montevideo?

Then there are the significant economic questions to survey. Why is Argentina a trade rival of the United States? Why does Brazil burn thousands of tons of coffee annually? What happens to a nation, like Venezuela, that "stands on one leg" economically? How did an invention by a German chemist bring economic depression to Chile? Why has manufacturing never developed greatly in Latin America? Why has

transportation been retarded? What are the economic prospects for the future?

Yet it is true that "man does not live by bread alone," and we shall be less likely to offend our friends to the south if we learn of their cultural contributions and achievements. Do you know that South America had thriving universities which were established a century before Harvard College? Most closely related, however, to the urgent problems of our times will be our study of Latin-American relations with the United States and of the role of Latin America in the world struggle for freedom. We should learn some of the answers to the questions "Why has Latin America distrusted us in the past?" and "Why do Brazil and the United States co-operate, while Argentina does not get along with us?"

This unit will furnish a useful guide and working outline; it will raise many problems and suggest some solutions; but it is merely a springboard to more detailed study. The author hopes that you will want to know more about Latin America as a result of your study. If you find that this survey causes you to want to read and investigate the problems of Latin America further, its purposes will have been accomplished.

Historical Development of Latin America to the Twentieth Century

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE of Canada, Alaska, and the United States have frequently failed to understand or to give proper attention to the Latin-American peoples and nations.

Latin America includes the islands of the Caribbean, Mexico, Central America, and South America. Here the social patterns and the cultural institutions are largely the result of the merging and blending or the conflict of the Iberian-European civilizations (Spanish and Portuguese) and the native Indian stock.

Mercantilism and Colonies

EUROPE in the fifteenth century was awakening to the desires for trade, commerce, expansion, and colonization. Spain and Portugal, having achieved some national unity and being favorably situated, took the lead in exploration and discovery. During the hectic scramble for colonies and trade in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the nations of Europe were driven by a set of economic ideas known as *mercantilism*—ideas that made the exploration, settlement, and exploitation of colonies seem highly desirable. According to *mercantilist* theory, a nation, in order to prosper, should

possess a "favorable balance of trade"; that is, it should export more than it imported. The difference between the value of the exports and imports would then be paid in bullion (gold or silver). The precious metals were regarded as wealth in its most important form; therefore to insure an influx of gold and silver was the chief economic goal of every nation.

The results of such economic theory are evident:

1. Every nation whose domestic affairs were orderly enough would enter the scramble for colonies.
2. Rivalries were bound to cause the establishment of trade relations and monopolies, so that wars between rival mercantilist powers were certain to ensue.
3. Colonies would be regarded as inferior or backward regions that were to be exploited, "milked" or "mined" of their resources, and discouraged from establishing their own industries and manufactures. On the other hand, since the mother country depended upon them so strongly, they were likely to be given many favors in trade with the homeland, and frequent inducements would be offered to settlers to colonize and produce for the home nation.

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Indian Cultures Met by the Spanish

BEFORE the Italians, Portuguese, and Spaniards began the questing voyages which were certain to bring them eventually to the New World, here, on the continents known now as the Americas, the native Indians had developed their own varying and significant tribal cultures. Of these, Spanish explorers came into contact with five principal ones:¹ the Pueblos of the southwest; the Aztecs of Mexico; the Mayas of Central America; the Chibchas of Colombia; and the Incas of Peru. It is important to remember that European civilization did not meet in Latin America a group of savage aborigines, to be brushed aside or to be absorbed completely into the new culture. On the contrary, the Indians of Latin America possessed so advanced a culture and had such tenacity in following their own customs that today Latin America represents to a large degree a mixture of European and Indian cultures.

The Mayas, whose pyramids constitute one of the most remarkable New World ruins, lived in city-states somewhat as the Greeks did. They built well their temples and palaces of stone. Artisans produced ornaments of copper, silver, gold, and bronze. The Mayan priesthood, a leisure class, was responsible for a number of scientific developments. A calendar year of 365 days was followed; astronomy developed closely along with religion. The priests also developed a type of nonalphabetic writing. The numerical system was based on a unit of twenty; and Mayan mathematics included the concept of zero, a concept which even

the Greeks and Romans had failed to apprehend. Roads designed to shed water, cement-covered bridges, and architecture of note were numbered among the Mayan achievements. Between the upper leisure classes, nobles and priests, and the common workers of the soil was a merchant class.

The Aztecs, whom the Spaniards encountered in Mexico, were ruled by a hereditary monarch, who was advised by a council chosen from the twenty clans. Aztec society was based on slavery, especially of members of conquered tribes. Aztec civilization borrowed heavily from the Mayan. Architectural and road-building accomplishments were noteworthy. Artisans developed great skill in making ornaments of gold, copper, opals, turquoises, and jadeite. Probably the most repellent of all Aztec customs was the association of human sacrifice with the rites of worship. Many such sacrifices were those of unlucky prisoners of war, but on special occasions Aztecs themselves were given the honor of dying on the sacrificial altar. These "fortunate" citizens were especially honored by their countrymen and given all manner of favors in their last days in order that they might die in a proper frame of mind.

The common people lived a simple life. "They lived in unpretentious huts, and their food consisted of beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tortillas, turkeys, fish, and deer meat; dogs were often kept for food."² By contrast, the emperor and the nobility lived in almost Oriental luxury and splendor.

Education in traditions, religion, and customs, as well as training in skills and crafts,

¹Tom B. Jones, *Introduction to Hispanic American History*, p. 15. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1939.

²Ibid. p. 25.

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was provided for the children of the upper classes. The Aztecs loved games and dancing. A national pastime was the ceremonial ball game. "The game was played within a stone court two hundred feet high; its object was to drive a rubber ball through either of two rings set high on each side of the court, the ball being propelled with any part of the body except the hands or feet. The exertion demanded by this game was very great—players often died in the course of a match. Skillful players enjoyed a national popularity comparable to that of the 'home-run kings' of our day."¹

The Pueblos, who had lived first in cliff "apartments" and later in new cities built of adobe on the mesas, dwelt in city-state units. They were less advanced in the arts and crafts than the Aztecs, and lived principally from the farming of maize and cotton. The agricultural lands were owned by each pueblo, or clan. In religion, family life, and social custom all things tended to emphasize the welfare of the group and to detract from the influence and development of the individual.

The Incas, whose empire was based in the Peruvian Andes, were skilled in the conquest, reorganization, and assimilation of neighboring powers. A strong imperial government, headed by the Inca and four consuls, ruled a population of nearly 10,000,000 people. Land was owned by the state or the tribes; never by the individual. The people were sharply regimented on the totalitarian plan. Like the Romans, the Incas realized that administration of an empire demands

swift and sure access to every part, and they built roads and bridges with skill and care.

The Incan empire was rich. Such metals as gold, silver, tin, copper, and lead were available for ornaments and tools. The agricultural resources were increased by irrigation and fertilization. Like the Mayas and Aztecs, the Incas had developed the sciences of the calendar, astronomy, mathematics, and surveying. However, they devised no system of true writing.

The Chibchas of the Colombian plateau lacked the skills of the other tribes. However, they engaged in trade and were fair craftsmen in ornamentation, textiles, and pottery. They were polygamous, harsh in ideas of justice, courageous in battle. Unlike the Aztecs or Incas, they lived in tribal units, never as a united nation.

Bearing in mind the extent of development of these native peoples of America, it is clear that their influence on any colonial enterprise of an outside power would be considerable. The following effects are particularly significant and noticeable:

1. The natives, being numbered in many millions, were too numerous to be brushed aside (as were the Indians encountered by the English colonists) or to be annihilated. Therefore, the population and blood of colonies here would possess a strong Indian strain.

2. The people were trained in group living, usually under domination from government above, and would be generally orderly and amenable to disciplines similar to those to which they were accustomed.

¹Ibid. p. 27.

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3. The native's strong religious training in every case created habits of thinking, superstitions, and deeply rooted beliefs which would make difficult the task of changing his mind to a European pattern of thought.

4. The deeply ingrained manner of group living would at once make the Indian manageable in group life, but it would also give him a dependence on the group that would make him unable to labor alone or under pressure. Strangely enough, the same training which made it difficult for the Indian to enter competitive life with the white man also seemed to make it impossible to enslave him.

It was to a New World peopled by many nations practiced in government, religion, crafts, and arts, and rich in mineral and agricultural resources, that Spain was introduced by Columbus and his successors; not to a land devoid of culture and sparsely populated.

The Spaniards as Colonizers

A COMMON MISUNDERSTANDING has it that the Spaniards were unsuccessful colonizers. Only by noting the weaknesses and faults that attend any imperial scheme can support be brought to this notion. On the contrary, the achievements of the sixteenth century (before a single successful English colony had been established) are worth attention. Columbus, on his second voyage to the New World, brought nearly 2000 colonists. The Spanish government offered these inducements to settlers:

1. Government aid to industry and agriculture.

2. Free land to homesteaders, with five years of tax exemption (1497).

3. Free passage to certain classes of agricultural settlers.

4. All Spaniards, except Jews, Moors, and heretics, could migrate to America.

Nor is the common belief that Spaniards came only in search of gold a true one. Certainly, the *conquistadores* did ravage and rob the storehouses and treasure of the Aztecs and the Incas, and imperial Spain profited well from the mines of Mexico and Peru. But the most of the colonists entered other lines of production and were encouraged by the royal government to do so. Ranching and the raising of European livestock were found to be highly profitable.

The relation of the Spaniard and the Indian is a confused issue. The first Spanish colonists brought no families and married freely with the natives, as did the French in Canada. Although the Indian was unfitted by training and temperament for the arduous life of outright slavery, it was not difficult to exploit him in a state of virtual serfdom on the large ranches and plantations, where the environment and type of work were similar to what he had known for centuries. While Queen Isabella attempted to protect the rights of the Indians, the Spanish settlers in the New World, who sought cheap labor, effectively opposed all attempts to give them the status of free workers. The Spaniards, although they rode roughly over the human rights of the native subjects, recognized the moral responsibility of Christianizing the Indian. The Catholic church or mission was established in every corner of the empire. Since the strong influence of native belief and established custom was recognized, the Church sanctioned a consider-



Ewing Galloway

Ruins of the Inca Kingdom at Machu Picchu, Peru

Serpents' Heads on an Ancient Temple

Hu Watson from Gendreau



An Idol of the Mayans, Guatemala

Hu Watson from Gendreau





Gendreau

Moorish Arches in a 300-Year-Old Monastery at Cartagena, Colombia

Spanish Decoration on the Cathedral at León, Nicaragua

Herbert C. Lanks



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able amount of adherence to tribal religious practice and superstition even as it sought to teach the European faith. Father Las Casas became a strong agitator for better treatment of the Indian; and although he made headway in his audiences with the rulers of Spain, the colonists ignored the reforms he was able to get written into Spanish codes and made dead letters of the protective laws.

In 1494, in a variation of the Papal Line of Demarcation, Spain and Portugal agreed in the Treaty of Tordesillas to a line dividing the New World between them. This treaty is directly responsible for the division of Latin America into its present Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking sections.

In 1518 began the conquest of Mexico, which was to lead to the subjugation of most of Central and South America by the Spaniards. Hernando Cortés, operating under orders of the governor of Cuba, set out to conquer the Indian empire of Mexico. He left Santiago with a fleet manned by one hundred sailors and carrying five hundred soldiers, some natives, and sixteen horses. Thirteen of the soldiers had guns and there were fourteen artillery pieces with the expedition. Early in 1519 he established the town of Villa Rica de Vera Cruz (now Veracruz). Montezuma, the Aztec chief, sent Cortés rich gifts of slaves, gold and silver ornaments, silks, pearls, shields, and helmets. He also ordered Cortés to leave the country.¹ Acting quickly to forestall mutiny, Cortés burned his ships and advanced on Mexico City. After severe fighting and long siege

the Spaniards entered the city in August, 1521, massacred thousands of natives, and captured the emperor. The conquest of Mexico led to the virtual conquest of all Central America.

In 1531 Pizarro entered Peru, the kingdom of the Incas, and captured the ruler, the Inca, who was held for ransom specified as "a room of twenty-two by seventeen feet filled with gold as high as he could reach." To accomplish this, riches equal today to about \$17,500,000 were brought from all parts of the kingdom, and by June 14, 1533, his ransom had been collected.¹ But Pizarro had no intention of turning the Incan empire back to its rulers, and had the Inca executed on a dubious charge of murder.

In 1535 and 1536 successful colonies were established in Argentina and first efforts were made to settle Chile.

The Portuguese in Brazil

THE SPANIARDS were not alone, however, in rushing to seize and occupy the lands of the New World. Pedro Alvares Cabral reached the shores of Brazil in April, 1500, and claimed the land for Portugal. Unlike the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru, the Portuguese found no immediate source of great wealth in America and were at first disillusioned as to the value of their empire. Not knowing the future wealth of Brazil, they were inclined to think of it only as a source of tropical curiosities like monkeys and parrots. Certainly they were far-from-enthusiastic colonizers in the first century of ownership.

¹Wilgus, *Modern Hispanic America*, pp. 88-89, George Washington University Press, 1934.

¹Ibid. p. 103.

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Because of its being a good station for an empire, located as it was on the route to India, and because of the prospects of further riches, Admiral Martim de Souza was commissioned in 1530 to put the colony on an enduring basis. The first colonial method of the Portuguese was that of granting vast fiefs, or proprietorships, of land known as "captaincies." This system broke down through the poor management of certain captaincies and the lack of real unity in the colony. Therefore, in 1549, the power of the proprietors was limited and the first governor-general, Thomé de Souza, was appointed. Administrative methods improved, but the real development of Brazil came only with the revelation of gold deposits in the mines of Minas Geraes, Matto Grosso, and Goyaz (1694-1724). As results of the enthusiasm thus generated for the colony, the following developments now occurred in Brazil:

1. Mineral wealth took precedence over agricultural exports.
2. Bahia, the first capital, lost leadership to Rio de Janeiro.
3. The influx of population crossed the line of Tordesillas of 1494.
4. A migration to the south brought a controversy with Spain over Paraguay.
5. In 1763 Brazil was raised to the status of a viceroyalty, and the capital was transferred to Rio de Janeiro.

Colonial Administration

THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT possessed probably the best defined and most restrictive colonial policies of the mercantile period. The monarch of Spain was the source of all power in

the colony. The administration of the colonies was carried out principally through two institutions, the *Casa de Contratación* (House of Trade) and the *Consejo de Indias* (Council of the Indies). The first of these was organized in 1503. Its principal functions were:

1. To supervise trade with the colonies.
2. To provide geographical and nautical information regarding trade routes.
3. To supervise emigration to the colonies.
4. To act as a court in cases pertaining to shipping and the high seas.

After the establishment of the *Consejo* in 1511, the *Casa* was limited to administering the trade with America, while the Council of the Indies took over direct supervision of colonial government and affairs.

Within the colony the chief official vested with the royal authority was the viceroy. The most coveted viceroyalty was that of wealthy Peru. The viceroy might be examined by the Council of the Indies and was on occasion supervised by a royal visitor.

The *audiencia* was the governing group in the viceroyalty that worked with the viceroy. It served as an advisory council, court of trial and appeal, and military cabinet. Its members were highly paid to avoid bribery.

Each viceroyalty was divided into subdivisions, whose officials were appointed by the crown but were responsible to the viceroy and *audiencia*.

The towns enjoyed considerable local control. They were allowed to choose a mayor, justices, sheriff, and treasurer; and some

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municipalities even petitioned the government for commercial advantages.

Social Structure

THE SOCIAL LIFE of Spanish colonies was stratified into a fairly well-defined class system. Since the Indian had early intermarried with the white, he was accepted as part of the social structure and was not discriminated against, although affairs of government were practically exclusively in the hands of the whites. The social structure of the Spanish colonies was arranged thus:

1. Peninsular whites (those born in Spain), who held most of the important offices and looked down on the Creoles.

2. The Creoles (Spaniards born within the colony), who held the lesser offices and were prone to resent the snobbery of the "Peninsulars."

3. The *mestizos* (mixed Indian and white blood).

4. Indians.

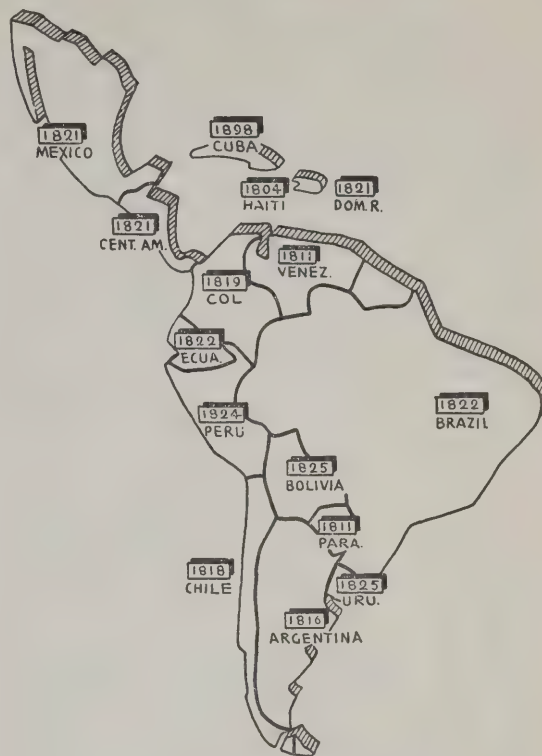
5. Mulattoes (Negro and white).

6. *Zambos* (Indian and Negro).

7. Negro slaves, who were commonly regarded as livestock and treated as such. In cases of Negro uprisings great brutality was exercised by both Negro and white. Such uprisings were ruthlessly stamped out as an example to the slave population.

The life of the well-to-do was one of luxury and gaiety. Gambling, racing, and dancing were popular. In the mining towns life was similar to that in the boom towns of our frontier days. Old-World culture, architecture, music, and literature came to America by way of the Church and the estates of the aristocratic Spaniards.

For the common people, life was at times a dreary round of drudgery on the estates of the well-to-do. Yet the Church allowed them



THE DATES SHOW THE YEARS IN WHICH EACH COUNTRY GAINED ITS INDEPENDENCE¹

their fiestas and village fairs, where they could dance, play the old tribal games, and gossip.

Causes of the Break with Spain

BETWEEN the years 1800 and 1825 a veritable epidemic of revolutions, or wars of independence, took place in the New World. Practically the entire fabric of Spain's New-World empire fell to bits. This period is one of many interior political feuds and ambitions. In many respects, however, it is best understood by following the careers of its central figures, the "George Washingtons"

¹From *Headline Books: Look at Latin America*, published by the Foreign Policy Association.

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or "Liberators" of the South American republics. However, as is always true in history, great movements, important changes in the nature of political institutions, empires, or destinies of nations do not take place without a pattern of many causes. The "epidemic of revolutions" observed in Latin America was the logical result of numerous factors, some of which had been in operation for many years. Some of the most significant items in the background of causes for this outbreak of political unrest were the following:

1. The dwindling economic returns from the mines of Mexico and Peru had caused Spain to lose interest in the administration of colonial affairs.

2. In the course of three centuries the citizens of Latin America had become provincial rather than colonial; that is, they had come to have a local point of view. Instead of regarding themselves as Spaniards living in Mexico, Peru, Chile, or Argentina, many thought of themselves as Mexicans, Peruvians, Chileans, or Argentinians.

3. In relation to the foregoing was the advantage given by the Crown in governmental affairs to persons of Spanish birth over the Creoles. The Creoles supplied most of the leadership for the wars of independence.

4. The success of the English colonies in revolting and establishing a republic had not gone unnoticed in the Spanish colonies.

5. Admiration for liberal thought and the French Revolution had a strong effect. The writings of Locke, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and even Rousseau reached the intellectuals of Latin America.

6. The restrictive commercial policies of Spain and the exodus of capital from the New World by way of the tax collector had caused antagonism over a long period of years.

7. The confusion of government in Spain

caused by the Napoleonic Wars had lessened the prestige of the mother country. The fostering of political unrest in Latin America by England was also responsible for some action toward winning freedom.

8. The idealism and leadership of able men who took advantage of these many causes for discontent was a final factor in the carrying out of successful breaks with the foreign power.

Heroes of Independence

NORTH AMERICANS should know well the work of the greatest of the Latin-American national heroes, both because of the importance of their efforts in winning independence and because of the fame and esteem they enjoy throughout the Latin-American republics. The forerunner to the successful leaders of revolt was the ill-fated Francisco de Miranda (1750-1816). He was a Creole, born in Caracas, Venezuela, of a well-to-do family. He served in the army of Spain, was educated at home and abroad, and was widely traveled and well known in England, the United States, Germany, Turkey, Egypt, and Russia. In spite of repeated attempts in Britain, the United States, and France to gain assistance for freeing Venezuela, his revolutionary activities were badly timed and this sincere patriot saw his plans come to naught. However, the influence of his ideals and love for freedom was strong enough to affect the lives of the two successful liberators Simón Bolívar (1783-1830) and José de San Martín (1778-1850).

Simón Bolívar, too, was born in Caracas, an heir to a great fortune. At the age of sixteen he was sent to Madrid to study. His lovely wife died when he was but twenty-one. After this tragedy he traveled in Spain,

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Italy, and France. In France, he was greatly impressed by the ideals and purposes of the French Revolution. After a brief visit to the United States, he returned to his country estates in Venezuela.

From 1812 to 1818 Bolívar engaged in unsuccessful campaigning against the Spaniards, but in 1819, with native and English troops, he crossed the Paya Pass in the Andes, surprised and defeated the Spaniards at Boyacá, and proclaimed at Angostura a "Great Colombia" of which he was made president and dictator. In 1822 he began his campaigns to win political freedom for Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. In Peru his path was to cross that of the great Argentinian patriot San Martín.

San Martín had been educated at home and in Spain, and had served Spain in both the army and the navy. He is reputed to have been a man of kindly disposition, of simple tastes and manners, and personally appealing. Perhaps in keeping with his military ability is his reputation as a remarkable chess-player. As leader of the southern patriots, San Martín drilled an army and recruited gauchos from the pampas for his cavalry. Working and plotting with the Chilean patriot Bernardo O'Higgins, he planned his campaign to cross the Andes into Chile. In 1817 he led his army through passes 12,000 feet above the sea into Chile, where at Chacabuco he beat the Spaniards. The following year, the patriots won the great battle for Chilean freedom at Maipú. With the assistance of a former English Admiral, Thomas Lord Cochrane, as commander of the Chilean fleet, the last hold of Spain on Chile was broken.



THE ROUTES OF SIMÓN BOLÍVAR AND JOSÉ SAN MARTÍN—TWO LEADERS WHO FOUGHT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTH AMERICA

From Chile, San Martín led his forces to the liberation of Peru, where, in 1822, he and Bolívar held secret conferences in Guayaquil. Apparently as a result of this meeting, San Martín resigned his command and returned to Argentina. From here, a few years later, he left for France to live in exile.

National Feeling

THE "LIBERATORS" of Latin America—Miranda, Bolívar, and San Martín—cherished three ideals for their native lands. They desired to see the Latin-American republics free of Spain; they wished constitutional government to function; and they hoped for the union of the South American republics.

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Only the first of these was achieved; probably, it was the only aim based on reality. The experience of the nineteenth century proves that the republics lacked both experience and desire to make genuinely representative government work. And while there is a record of increasing Pan-American cooperation, there is also every evidence of national pride and jealous regard for their own independence in all the Latin-American republics. The official historian of Brazil expresses this sentiment well:¹ "It should be made clear that while Brazil will bend every effort to draw even closer the bonds of fellowship with its sister republics both in North and South America, it is firm in its determination never to lose its individuality, either spiritual or social, as a great Catholic people. Brazilians of all shades of political opinion are as one on this point. We shall never cease to be what we are." It is important that North Americans understand and appreciate this strong national feeling among our neighbors to the south.

Nineteenth-Century Trends in Government

AFTER the "epidemic of revolutions" had freed the Latin-American republics from Spanish control, the job of establishing orderly government remained. The principal functioning republic of the day was the United States; therefore many of the Latin-American constitutions were closely modeled on our own. However, as we learned in our history, it is easier to write a constitution than to make it work. In the Latin-American nations there were three serious obstacles to effective constitutional government: (1) the

lack of previous political experience in representative government; (2) the lack of education and training among the populace; and (3) the bitterness of factional quarreling among ambitious politicians within the countries.

It is not surprising then that many Latin-American states found the answer to the problem of law and order in the *caudillo*, or military chieftain. Indeed, the nineteenth century is sometimes referred to as the "century of the dictators" in Latin America. Some of these *caudillos*, like Juan Rosas of Argentina and Porfirio Díaz of Mexico, contributed much to the unification and prosperity of their nations; others, like Francisco López of Paraguay and Mariano Melgarejo of Bolivia, pushed their countries to the verge of utter ruin.

Toward the end of the century the trend in Latin-American politics was away from the *caudillos* and toward lawyer-presidents. Men like Bartolomé Mitre and "Schoolmaster-President" Sarmiento of Argentina and José Battle y Ordoñez of Uruguay rank among the great American statesmen of their century.

International Wars and Disputes

IN OVER a century of existence as highly nationalistic, independent, and individualistic republics, the countries of Latin America, although involved in almost interminable boundary disputes, have engaged in few serious international wars.

From 1825 to 1828 and from 1843 to 1851, Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay engaged in wars largely related to the fate of the smallest

¹Calogeras, *History of Brazil*, p. 334. University of North Carolina Press, 1939.

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of those nations. Initially the Brazilians controlled Uruguay and its principal city, Montevideo. The Argentinian looked upon the province as a rightful and logical field for expansion. As a final result of the factional struggles within the country and the wars between Brazil and Argentina, Uruguay achieved its political independence and a territorial guarantee from both its larger neighbors.

Between 1864 and 1870 there was fought one of the most disastrous wars in the annals of history; this was the Paraguayan War. The dictator of Paraguay was Francisco López, an ambition-crazed admirer of Napoleon, who dreamed mad dreams of uniting all South America under his banner. His meddling and aggression brought him into conflict with the allied powers of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. Defeated time after time in bloody conflict by the Allies, his loyal, even fanatic, Indian subjects followed him into repeated hopeless battles and the war was only ended when he was followed to a mountain retreat and killed by Brazilian cavalymen in March, 1870. The war itself was singularly brutal and pointless, resulting principally in the loss of territory to Brazil and Argentina. The most striking fact, however, is that about three fourths of the entire population of Paraguay was wiped out in the struggle. López's nation had numbered over 1,000,000 people when the war began; at its close only about 250,000 remained alive, these mostly women and children.

Between 1879 and 1883 was fought the so-called War of the Pacific. In dispute were

the rich and important nitrate deposits on the west coast of South America. Bolivia and Peru allied to attempt to curb the extension of Chile northward. With a superior naval and military establishment Chile was able to destroy the Peruvian fleet and capture Lima. Hostilities were terminated by the treaty of Ancón (1883), which gave Chile a ten-year hold on the nitrate-producing provinces of Tacna and Arica. Bolivia lost her seacoast as a result of the war.

Disputes over the plebiscites and final disposition of Tacna and Arica were extended into the twentieth century, and an agreement was only reached at the suggestion of President Hoover of the United States, on June 3, 1929. By this agreement Peru received Tacna, and Arica was kept by Chile. Chile also promised to make certain property adjustments in Tacna in favor of Peru and to grant Bolivia duty-free access to the Pacific and railway rights.

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The Geographical Setting

ALTHOUGH Latin America includes nations and peoples who live on two continents, our geographical study in this chapter will be devoted largely to South America. (Mexico and Central America are dealt with in Chapter Four.) South America, indeed, is a misleading term, for, as geographers have pointed out repeatedly, South America is really "South-east America." In fact, the greatest part of South America lies in longitudes east of the North American continent. Valparaiso, Chile, on the west coast of South America, actually lies south and slightly east of New York City.

The position of South America is made more clear if we note that the coast of Brazil is only about 1600 miles from Africa, whereas New York City is 3000 miles from London.

Like North America, South America has had a factor of geographical isolation that has influenced its life and history considerably. South America is too big to be generalized about loosely, however. Its Colombian and Venezuelan ports on the north are only a 1500-mile Gulf-and-Caribbean cruise from New Orleans. From Rio de Janeiro to New Orleans, however, is a voyage of over 5000 miles. Buenos Aires is about twice as far from New York City as New York City is from London.

South America as a continent is about 7,000,000 square miles in area. Its largest national division, Brazil, is bigger than the

United States. In its widest part, it is about 3000 miles across; but in the south, across lower Chile and Argentina, it narrows to only a few hundred miles.

The largest part of South America is the huge triangular inland valley of the Amazon. This plain is roughly boxed in by three mountain systems—the Andes to the west, the Guiana highlands to the north, and the Brazilian highlands to the southeast—and is the least developed area of all South America. It lies within the tropics and it is too forbidding because of its climate to attract settlement on a great scale.

Of the nations of South America only Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay lie principally in the temperate zones. Therefore the Brazilian lowlands, Paraguay, Colombia, Venezuela, the Guianas, and those parts of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia west of the Andes are likely to be handicapped by the usual tropical assortment of diseases and climatic barriers.

The western and eastern coastlines of South America are very different from each other. The west coast is very regular, offering few natural harbors. Shallow bays and inlets protected by jutting capes afford almost the only natural shelters for ports, until we reach the fiords of southern Chile. Large freighters in these ports cannot unload directly onto harbor wharves but must transfer their freight to smaller boats, or lighters.

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Only Guayaquil, chief port of Ecuador, is located on a gulf of sufficient size, depth, and protection to offer good natural port facilities.

The east coast, although in general rather regular, has many ports of considerable importance. Furthermore, the interior of the continent is much more accessible from the east than from the west. On the west no navigable rivers run to the interior, and the Andean ranges offer a terrible barrier. On the east the Brazilian highlands offer not too formidable a barrier to penetration, and great river systems penetrate to the very heart of the continent. The harbor of Rio de Janeiro, in addition to being spectacularly beautiful, is an ideal natural anchorage. The port cities of the River Plata—Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and La Plata—have good natural port facilities. Bahía Blanca, in Argentina, and Porto Alegre, Santos, São Salvador, Recife, and Belém, in Brazil are a few of the good ports of the east coast.

It has been often observed that in tropical lands, where the sun's rays are almost directly overhead, the heat oppressive, and the atmosphere generally humid, man's energies are never at their peak. The highest civilizations, the best use of man's abilities, have developed in areas where the climate tends to invigorate man rather than to sap his will to work.

Tropical diseases have often retarded the development of these areas. In many cases these diseases were handicaps that could be met and conquered, at least within certain areas. The most common tropical disease is malaria. Probably you have read of the role that malaria played in defeating the French efforts to build the Panama Canal and of

how American success came only with the conquest of the *Anopheles* mosquito that spreads the disease. If this mosquito can be controlled, as in the Canal Zone, malaria can be eradicated within limits; but how to destroy all the mosquitoes in the swamps and marshes of the Amazon valley? White men forced to work in the tropics usually dose themselves regularly with quinine, the specific drug used to combat malaria.

Yellow fever is another tropical disease that is spread by mosquitoes. This disease was, until recent times, a worse scourge to the ports of the Spanish Main than all the pirates who ever flew the black flag. Formerly, when this plague ran rampant through a tropical port, it often did not leave enough well people to bury the dead. Guayaquil, Ecuador's excellent seaport, was once known as "the pesthole of the Pacific" because of the prevalence of yellow fever and other tropical ills. (Do you remember the yellow-fever epidemic described in Longfellow's *Evangeline*?) In ports like Havana, New Orleans, and Santos, where great vigilance is exercised in mosquito control, this disease has been largely eradicated. Preventive medicine has also discovered a set of injections useful in combating the dread "Yellow Jack."

The damp, warm tropical climate furnishes ideal soil for bacterial growth. Therefore many diseases not strictly tropical tend to run to extremes in those areas. Since many of the natives are uninformed in regard to the simplest laws of sanitation and cleanliness, such diseases exact an unnecessarily heavy toll. Typhoid fever and intestinal infections of many varieties must be guarded

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against. The sources of drinking water must be especially carefully watched; generally, all drinking water should be boiled.

The laziness often described as a characteristic of tropical natives is frequently a result of the inroads of disease. Hookworm is a disease that generally causes listlessness and weakness. The control of this disease depends on the knowledge of elementary principles of sanitation and on protecting the skin, principally of the feet, against the parasites that enter through it.

In the main, these tropical diseases are subject to control within limited areas. Their control depends, however, on sufficient funds and an intelligent, educated group of people co-operating with medical authorities. Except in the more progressive centers of population, these conditions have been lacking in tropical Latin America. Therefore the tropical lowlands have continued to offer many such obstacles to conquest.

Since Latin America lies so much within the tropics, the highlands and plateaus assume a much greater importance in human geography than they do in most continents. In North America the population accumulates along the coastal plains and the valleys of the interior. However, the interior valley of the Amazon, comparable in size to the Mississippi Valley, offers too many handicaps to settlement; and the coastal plains of Latin America are, in general, too narrow to support a large population. Therefore people are virtually forced to choose the highlands as a place of habitation.

The Andean mountain system is not only the most spectacular geographical feature of

South America, but also one of its most important. This system extends the length of the continent, from north to south. In Colombia it is comprised of three separate ranges which converge near the Ecuadorian border, whence it continues as a solid mass to the very southernmost tip. Sometimes the Andes consist of parallel ranges between which lie high plateaus, as in Peru and Bolivia.

Few of the Andean passes are lower than 12,000 feet above sea level. There are twenty peaks of over 20,000 feet, the highest of which, Mount Aconcagua in Argentina, is 23,080 feet, over half a mile higher than Mount McKinley, the tallest peak in North America. Many of the Andean peaks are volcanic; numbers of these are still active. Near the equator the snow line is so high that only the extreme peaks are snowcapped. The Chilean Andes, however, afford snowcapped mountains of rugged, majestic, even terrible beauty. The southernmost Andes are covered with ice fields, and glaciers have cut many fiords in the coastline of southern Chile.

In the equatorial regions of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador there is very heavy rainfall. When rainfall is sufficient, farming is conducted at altitudes of several thousand feet. Coffee is grown in the mountain highlands of Colombia and Venezuela.

In the central section, including Peru and northern Chile, the rains fall on the eastern slopes of the Andes, for the trade winds come from that direction. Therefore we find desert lands along the west coast in this region. On the other hand, the Andes prevent the west winds from the Pacific from

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carrying rain to western Argentina and Patagonia.

Since the Andes are so near the west coast, all rivers of importance flow to the Atlantic. This is an important factor in transportation. (See Chapter Six.)

The "vertical" climate of the highland and plateau regions of the tropics permits a way of life not otherwise possible in such latitudes. Therefore we find that most of Latin America's population inside the tropical zone is congregated in the highlands. In Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia most of the people live on the high, mountainous plateaus. In Brazil the southeastern highland is the most prosperous section of the country.

Peru's coastal strip is habitable, however. It has a cooler climate than its latitude and low elevation would suggest, because of the cool winds that blow from the Humboldt Current.

Northern Chile is a desert strip; yet it has been important economically because of its nitrate and other mineral wealth.

The southernmost parts of Chile and Argentina are utilized principally for the grazing of sheep.

The wealthiest agricultural region of Latin America is the Argentine pampa. This is an area of about 250,000 square miles, stretching from the Atlantic some 450 miles to the interior. It has a rich alluvial soil and lies roughly between the thirtieth and fortieth parallels, south latitude. The rainfall—except in the western part, which is semiarid—is suitable for crop farming. Oc-

casional droughts cause heavy crop losses. Dust storms and sustained winds are common climatic features of this region.

The Chaco is significant for its potential usefulness and its political importance. Over part of it was fought Latin America's most recent war. It lies almost due south of the Central Amazon valley and includes portions of Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, and Argentina. Large areas of the Chaco are swampy and unhealthy, yet there is much land fit for agriculture and grazing. Timber stands include much valuable quebracho, from which is obtained the tannin used in tanning leather.

As you study other aspects of Latin-American life, it will be important to try to relate them to one another. Often there are many lines of connection between the various approaches to this complicated civilization. The influence of geography, for example, is very often important in political or economic or social history.

In Chapter Six we will discuss Latin-American transportation problems in some detail. It is plain to see, of course, that geography makes this a very difficult problem in Latin America. The great barrier of the Andean ranges is the most troublesome of all. Only by the most complicated feats of engineering have its passes been crossed by railroads, and then in only a few places. Switchbacks, tunnels, cogwheels, and snowsheds are all utilized in crossing this barrier. The Amazon jungles, on the other hand, are practically untouched by any signs of man-made transportation facilities. Here nature was both obstinate and generous: the

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jungle defies man's efforts to build roads and railroads, but the river affords a wonderful natural highway to the very depths of the continent.

Since there are such great barriers to free movement and the continent is so large, many areas are virtually isolated from contact with the outside world. This makes possible the survival of utterly primitive tribal practice among some of the native tribes of the tropical interior. Some of the Indians of Brazil, Colombia, and the Guianas have never been in contact with either the European or mestizo cultures of the nations whose subjects they are in name. Some of the tribes east of the Andes know no more of the world outside than they did five centuries ago. In their isolation two things predominate: the continual struggle against nature for existence; and the fear of outsiders and customs that seem new and dangerous. Employees of a foreign oil concession in remote Colombia only recently found how dangerous the resentment and fear of encroachment felt by these tribes might be when several of the foreigners were slain by poisoned arrows shot from ambush as they proceeded along difficult jungle footpaths.

Except for these primitive and savage native tribes, it is probably unwise for us to speak of complete isolation in regard to areas and groups in Latin America. It is better to think of a strong, widespread tendency toward separation and localism. Geography is influential in forming this tendency. In Mexico certain tribes on islands in the lakes live a life of antique simplicity; yet they are merely separated from outside influence, not

completely isolated from it. They paddle to shore in their handmade canoes, sell their catch of fish, and are photographed by tourists, perhaps; then, as though fearful of too great contact with outside custom, they load their families aboard and paddle back to their ancient refuge.

This tendency toward separation and localism has strong political effects. Among the most noticeable are:

1. Considerable difficulty in making national government really effective for the whole area of the nation. Brazil exercises nominal territorial government over the natives of the interior, but national laws, policies, and taxes mean nothing to these groups. Nations of the west coast, Peru and Ecuador, find the administration of government in the *montaña*, the land east of the Andes, a virtual impossibility.

2. A strong political sectionalism produced by geography. In Colombia the Andes were largely responsible for this. The three great ranges there produced separation of such marked extent that the political unification of Colombia was very difficult. Colombia has known over twenty-five civil wars. In her war of unification (1899-1902) a civil war was fought on sectional lines in which 100,000 men were killed.

3. Difficulty of true representative government. This again is a result of the tendency toward separation, abetted by geography. In Peru, for example, it has been easy for the minority of whites, who live in the cities near the coast, to dominate the nation politically. In fact, there are practically two spheres of government in nations like Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Venezuela. One is the national

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government, which is presumably the administrator of the entire country and which passes national laws, taxes foreign concessions, builds certain public improvements, and administers the national laws in the more accessible areas. The second is the group of communal governments based on ancient custom. The people of the mountains do not vote for the national government; they have no money to pay taxes to it; its social services rarely reach them. But they are not isolated from the national life completely. They go to the plantations for seasonal employment; they take a few products to city markets for sale; but politically they have little contact with the nation.

4. Some demand for internal improvements—a political move. It has been evident in many areas that to make the hinterland more accessible would promote a sounder national life. Some nations have accomplished this in the past by encouraging foreign capital to take the risks of development. British capital, for example, built most of Argentina's railroads. Recently governments have shown more response to internal pressure for genuine improvements. Even the late dictator Gómez of Venezuela built a few excellent highways. Today many nations,—Mexico, Brazil, Peru, Colombia, and Uruguay, for example,—are making investments in roads and airports as a part of a constructive form of political action.

That same geography which divides the nations of Latin America has undoubtedly been a factor which encouraged their political growth as separate nations. How difficult is the problem of holding together large areas is shown by the breaking up of "Great Colombia" into Colombia, Venezuela, and

Ecuador. The governmental administration of large areas where such formidable barriers to communication and travel exist is virtually impossible. The nations of the west are separated from those of the east by the Andean barrier. Colombia, Venezuela, and the Guianas have frontiers with Brazil in remote, often unexplored jungles.

These great barriers have undoubtedly contributed to peace among these nations, for the same barriers that impede transportation also impede the progress of armies. In many frontier areas there is so little pressure of population that there is nothing to fight over. On occasion, however, political arguments defy even geography. Peru and Ecuador quarreled bitterly over a tract of undeveloped jungle; and the armies of Paraguay and Bolivia fought every obstacle of a difficult tropical climate and terrain to get at each other in the Gran Chaco.

Geographical factors have had great influence in determining agricultural practice and diversity in Latin America. The general tendency toward the emphasis on staple crops is partly due to this influence. Cuba, Puerto Rico, and northeastern Brazil have such an ideal climate for sugar that it is only natural that this crop should be a staple there. The highlands of Brazil combine an ideal climate with the perfect soil for coffee-growing; thus geography determines Brazil's economic foundation. The magnificent pasturage and soil of the vast Argentine pampas made the application of large-scale production and staple crops almost inevitable.

Elevated plateaus make possible planned agriculture and systematic farming even in

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tropical latitudes. The great length of the continent from north to south gives it a variety of climates, from the moist, hot, humid equatorial type to the colder types of temperate climates found in southern Chile and Patagonia. Latin America actually has two sets of climates, one determined by latitude, the other by altitude. Therefore we find an almost complete variety of farm and pastoral products: sugar, wheat, cacao, corn, citrus fruits, coffee, flax, alfalfa, sheep, cattle, beef, wool, and hides.

Immigration also has been influenced by geography. Along the Caribbean and North Atlantic coast of South America and in the Caribbean islands is the heaviest Negro population. The Negroes endure the tropical climate well and are able to perform useful work there. In addition they have proved to be practically immune to yellow fever and less susceptible to other tropical diseases than the white man. On the other hand, Europeans who have migrated to Latin America have not gone in large numbers to the tropics. The largest foreign colonies, Italian and German, appear in temperate climates: in Argentina, Uruguay, southern Brazil, and Chile. Naturally, they have sought regions where employment was possible and where the climate was similar to what they were used to.

Geography has naturally influenced social and cultural development also. In the matter of dress, for instance, it is proper to think of urban Latin Americans dressing as Europeans and Americans do. Styles in Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, and Lima reflect the designs of Paris, London, New York, and Hollywood, just as they do in Denver, Chicago, and Des Moines. But localism survives in costume, nevertheless. The blanket and the woven fiber hats of the Indians are clung to in rural parts in the manner of centuries ago.

Education has been handicapped by the isolation of many areas. Schools are found principally in the cities; few are located in the inaccessible areas. The spread of knowledge of sanitation and public health is also held back by similar factors. Geography is not the whole story here, but it is a contributing factor.

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Nations and Peoples of Latin America¹

BEFORE we can go far in understanding Latin America, it is important that we gain a ready familiarity with its nations: their comparative sizes and populations and the characteristics that distinguish each. Perhaps the nations may be best introduced by a hasty tour of the Americas in which we attempt to point out certain identifying facts about each nation.

Argentina

FIRST of the Latin-American nations by alphabet is Argentina. Argentina is the second largest of the South American countries, having about one third the area of Brazil; it is more than four times the size of Texas and extends from the tropics to the bleak, wind-swept hills of Tierra del Fuego. In population it ranks third, following Brazil and Mexico. Argentina is the land of the rich pampas and prides itself upon its agricultural wealth; the excellence of its cattle, the fame of its metropolis, and its progress in industry and trade. The Argentinians have a grievance against the United States in that they believe us to be unreasonable in refusing to buy any great amount of their excellent beef. Other nations of the Western Hemisphere are lately inclined to wonder if Argentina's foreign policy is not shortsighted. Its refusal to break diplomatic relations with the Axis seems to indicate an atti-

tude of rather stubborn isolationism and a failure to realize the fate of all countries that try to be friendly with Nazi Germany.

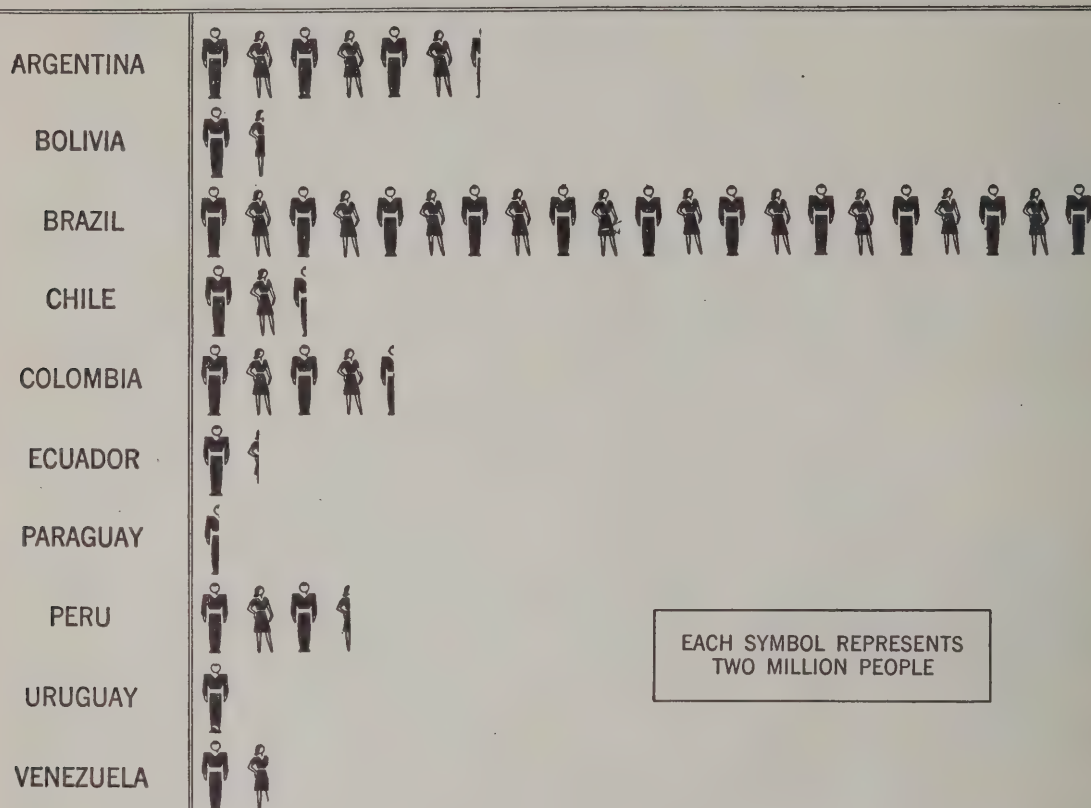
Argentina is proud of its accomplishments and jealous of its position in Latin-American affairs. When the United States contemplated the transfer of five destroyers to Brazil, Argentina's objections blocked the deal. Its population of over 13,000,000 is small in comparison with that which its wealthy agriculture could sustain. Some experts believe that increased immigration would be a boon to Argentina; they estimate that 40,000,000 people could be supported there comfortably. Although Argentina possesses about one third the area of the United States, its population is about one tenth of our own. Certainly it is fair for us to consider Argentina one of the most important of all our Latin-American neighbors. Since our relations with her are the most difficult and strained in the hemisphere, a careful study of her problems and attitudes is important. We must realize that Argentina's attitudes toward us are based on strongly held reasons (see Chapter Five).

We will not solve the problem of understanding them either by indulging in reckless animosity or by merely wishing for improvement. We cannot uphold Argentina's present stand in regard to the world struggle for freedom; we can, however, attempt to gain the knowledge that will point a way to better co-operation and mutual understanding.

¹This chapter will deal exclusively with South America. Mexico and Central America are given separate discussion in Chapter Four.

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Population of South America



Chile

BEYOND the Andes from Argentina lies Chile, a nation shaped like a string bean. Chile is about 2700 miles long from north to south and about 100 miles wide in most places. Yet its area is about that of Texas and Indiana combined. Its population is estimated to be somewhat under 5,000,000, or about one fourth less than that of Peru, its neighbor to the north. Chile is as truly a land of contrasts as any other country in the world. Its soils vary from the arid northern deserts to the fertile valley of central Chile. On its law books we find progressive labor

legislation; in its rate of infant mortality we find shocking evidence of social and economic difficulties.

There are really three Chiles. One is the rainy, wet grazing land of the far south, whose principal industry is sheep-raising and whose principal port is Punta Arenas. The central valley, home of Chilean agriculture, is the second and the location of most of Chile's population. The northern third is the source of Chile's minerals. In the deserts and mountains of the north are found its nitrates and copper.



Gendreau

Cattle-dipping on the Broad Pampas of the Argentine

In the Highlands of Chile a South American Cowboy Guards His Sheep

Fenno Jacobs from Three Lions





G. E. Kidder Smith for the Museum of Modern Art, New York

The Harbor at Bahia, Picturesque Seaport City of Brazil



Manugian Studios

Viña del Mar, Chile's Famous Pleasure Resort near Valparaiso

Calle de 18 de Julio, Main Street of Montevideo

Ewing Galloway





Ewing Galloway

Bolivian Indians Celebrate a Fiesta with Sunshades of Ostrich Plumes

Lengua Indian Boys, Paraguay

Ewing Galloway



Wood-gatherer of Colombia

Herbert C. Lanks



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Brazil

It is as impossible to characterize Brazil fully in a few paragraphs as it would be to do the same for our own nation. Brazil is big. In fact, it is as large as the United States plus an extra Texas. Possibilities for future development are indicated by the fact that its population is only a third that of the United States of America.

Before we study in more detail its economy and resources, it would be well to observe these fundamental generalizations about Brazil:

1. Although Brazil's chief dependence in exports is on coffee, it does not "stand on one leg" economically, as does Venezuela, for example. With a variety of soils and climates, its resources are many.

2. Brazil is very important strategically. Before Dakar became a United Nations base of action, Brazil was closest of all the American nations to the threat of Axis invasion. Its potential sources of strategic materials, including rubber and manganese, give it vital importance in "hemisphere defense."

3. Brazil gets along well with the United States. Getulio Vargas, president of Brazil, has shown a strong desire to co-operate with the United Nations against the Axis. Although he rules Brazil as virtual dictator, Vargas rules for the good of Brazil and to maintain an orderly nation. When Brazilian ships were sunk by Axis submarines, Brazil entered the war against Germany. Unlike Argentina, Brazil finds America a ready customer for its exports, for its chief products in the main do not compete with our own. The extent of our respect for Brazil's attitude in foreign affairs was recently exhibited. When

President Roosevelt returned from the historic Casablanca Conference in North Africa, in January, 1942, he conferred with President Vargas in Brazil on matters of common interest in regard to the carrying on of the war.

4. Finally, it must always be remembered that Brazil's position in regard to nationality is unique in America. Its European background and official language are Portuguese, not Spanish. Remember, too, that Brazil has the most complex racial make-up of all the Latin-American nations.

Uruguay

ALTHOUGH the names of Paraguay and Uruguay possess a confusing similarity, no two nations of South America are more different.

Uruguay lives largely from its animal industries, mostly the raising of cattle and sheep. Over two million people live in this country, which is about equal in area to North Dakota. Uruguay appears to have less marked extremes of wealth and poverty than most Latin-American states. It may rightly be described as one of the most genuinely democratic nations of Latin America. To the United Nations Uruguay gives its strong sympathies and complete co-operation. It is tied to Britain by strong commercial ties and is bound to both Britain and America by a firm attachment to the ideals of political freedom.

A glance at the map will show clearly Uruguay's position as a "buffer state" between Brazil and Argentina. Politically and economically Uruguay has been able to keep itself free of domination by either of these

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powers. It has a large stake in the continuance of a system of international relations in this hemisphere under which the freedom and territorial integrity of small nations is assured. Uruguay maintains literally no naval or military establishment; its security and independence are a proof of generally sound international relations among Pan-American nations.

Citizens of Montevideo had ringside seats at one of the most dramatic naval episodes of the Second World War. The government of Uruguay refused to allow the damaged German "pocket battleship" *Graf Spee* to remain in port longer than international law permits, despite Axis pressure. The defeated Germans, refusing to fight the eagerly waiting British, scuttled their ship in the estuary of the Plata, in view of hundreds of thousands of spectators.

Paraguay

PARAGUAY is an inland nation, surrounded by Brazil, Argentina, and Bolivia. Its population is estimated to be about 1,000,000 people for a country somewhat larger than the state of California.

The principal fact about Paraguay is the extent to which Argentina dominates its economy. Paraguay's chief exports, amounting in value to only a few millions of dollars annually, are meat products, cotton, and quebracho. Many of the nation's great ranches and plantations are owned by Argentinians. The Paraguay River steamboat lines are owned by an Argentinian company; the Argentinian government controls Paraguay's principal railroad; and Argentina dominates the quebracho industry.

A second important fact about Paraguay is the disastrous effect of wars upon its national life. The mad dreams of Francisco López brought the nation to ruin in the nineteenth century, and the effects of this ruin were still being felt when Paraguay became involved with Bolivia in war over the Gran Chaco, that undeveloped but potentially rich area of plains, swamps, and jungles lying between Bolivia and Paraguay. From 1932 to 1938 bitter fighting raged in this region. Both sides suffered heavy casualties, but especially the Bolivian Indians of the mountains, unaccustomed to the heat and fevers of the tropical jungles. A commission finally reached a settlement by which Paraguay gained a large part of the disputed territory. Of all the boundary difficulties in Latin America, Bolivia and Paraguay's probably remain the most bitter and explosive.

Bolivia

BOLIVIA is the most completely isolated of all Latin-American nations. Its outlets to the sea are railroads controlled largely by British and Argentinian interests. Bolivia lost its share of the nitrate provinces and its route to the Pacific in the war against Chile described in Chapter One. It also suffered disastrous consequences in the recent war over the Gran Chaco, in losses of both men and territory. It is said that after years of losses in the recent war against Paraguay, Bolivian Indian women would lie across the tracks of the railroads in an attempt to prevent troop trains from taking their men folk away to the slaughter in the tropical Chaco.

Katherine Carr points out that as a nation "Bolivia holds a record for violence and in-

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stability, with sixty-one military revolts, ten constitutions, and six assassinated presidents in a period of seventy-two years."¹ Its mineral wealth gives most of its profits to men who live outside the nation. Before the Second World War Bolivia saw its leadership in tin production pass to the Malay states. All told, Bolivia has not been a very lucky nation in the last seventy-five years.

Peru

THE HOMELAND of the once great Inca empire and source of huge Spanish treasure is Peru, with an area about the size of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona combined. The bulk of its estimated six and a quarter million people live from the soil. The majority are poor.

Geographically there are three Perus. These run from east to west rather than north and south, as do the three Chiles. The coastal strip is a desert land of little population. The sierra, the central Peru of peaks, plateaus, and fertile valleys, is the home of most of the people. Of this part Hubert Herring, noted expert on Latin America, says "The sierra is bleak and cold, with the leathery gauntness of an old man who has spent his years in the wind and the sun." The third Peru is known as the *montaña*. This is the land east of the Andes, inaccessible and little developed, a country of tropical rains and jungles.

Peru's government has largely emerged from the period of the military dictatorships of the nineteenth century. The president, Dr. Manuel Prado, a former professor and

banker, attempts to follow a moderate course of democracy and limited reform. At the same time he is careful not to offend deeply two influential groups in Peru: (1) the plantation-owners, who control its commercial agriculture, and (2) the foreign companies, which dominate its mines and industries.

Peruvian politics include what has been termed "the most significant political movement in Latin America": the Apra movement, led by Haya de la Torre. This popular movement, although outlawed in Peru, gives evidence of a train of reform thought. The principal¹ features of the Apra (*Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana*) are these:

1. It desires to accomplish its reforms by constitutional rather than by violent revolutionary action.
2. It has strong sympathy for the cause of democracy in its present world struggle against totalitarianism.
3. It desires the unification of Latin America. In a sense, it returns to the old ambitions of Simón Bolívar for a union of Latin-American nations.
4. It desires that the Indians, who make up a large element of the population, shall have a larger share and influence in the economic, social, and political life of the nation.

Ecuador

ECUADOR is small and poor. It has been unlucky also. Where once it had a position of leadership in the production of cacao, now it ranks seventh, behind several African colo-

¹Katherine Carr, *South American Primer*, p. 56. Reynal and Hitchcock, New York, 1939.

¹It will be found interesting to compare and contrast the Apra principles with the Cárdenas program in Mexico, described in Chapter Four.

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nies and Brazil. Its former monopoly on "Panama hats" has been seriously breached by newer, cheaper processes of manufacture. Added to these woes is the boundary trouble with Peru, involving some 100,000 square miles of almost completely undeveloped land on the east side of the Andes.

Ecuador has beautiful scenery, and a good harbor at Guayaquil. The capital, Quito, is cool, although it is located virtually on the equator.

Some have suggested that Ecuador does not actually deserve a separate national existence, that it should merge with its neighbors. Considering its fierce national pride, no less strong because of its small size, such a suggestion would be most unpopular in Quito.

Colombia

BECAUSE the Andes divide into three separate ranges there, Colombia has more sectional differences and greater regional isolation than its size would indicate. Colombia is larger than Texas and California combined and has a population of about 9,000,000.

Colombia vies with Uruguay and Costa Rica for the reputation of being the most democratic nation in Latin America. Certainly the capital city, Bogotá, enjoys the fame of being one of the most culturally minded cities of this hemisphere. Its citizens like to speak of Bogotá as the "Athens of America." The citizens of Medellín on the other hand are more interested in business activity and commercial prosperity.

Colombia has Latin America's most ranking grievance against the United States. Colombians find it difficult to forget the cir-

cumstances under which we got our rights to the Panama Canal Zone. They remember how Theodore Roosevelt boasted, "I took Panama." Relations have been improved in recent years, however. The United States is a good customer for its coffee; we have paid it some millions to gain better feeling and to right any wrong we may have done; and we have been careful not to repeat our offenses.

Venezuela

VENEZUELA has three distinctive marks that we should notice by way of introduction.

In the first place, Venezuela has just begun to recover from the effects of three decades under one of the most completely ruthless dictators in Latin-American history. From 1908 to 1935, Dictator Gómez used Venezuela as his own private property. He farmed its best land; he used the royalties from its oil; he built up a totalitarian bureaucracy under which only he and his friends could prosper. Under Gómez thousands of political enemies were in irons; others in exile. Personal freedom disappeared, and intellectual life dwindled to almost nothing. In 1935 Gómez died, and López Contreras assumed control. Immediately reforms began. Many political prisoners were freed, prominent exiles were invited home, and a program of public works was begun. Venezuela was still a long way from being a Utopia, but breath came easier to Venezuelans once the iron rule of oppression had been ended.

Secondly, Venezuela has the doubtful honor of having its resources more completely dominated by foreign capital than any other Latin-American nation. Vene-

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zuela's government lives by its oil leases. These are so profitable that they have led to lack of interest in other resources. But Venezuela has begun to build roads and public works with its revenues. There are disadvantages in "standing on one leg," economically; and certainly Venezuela has done just that in recent years. Over three fourths of the value of its exports has been in petroleum.

Finally, it is interesting to note that Venezuela has the highest living costs of any Latin-American nation. Although the majority of the three and a half million people are poor, prices are determined by the easy flow of money to foreign employees and government agents involved in the oil business. Indeed, John Gunther was so impressed by the excessive prices for all commodities that he labeled his chapter on this nation in *Inside Latin America* "The High Cost of Venezuela."¹ Unlike such nations as Chile and Mexico, where exchange rates are highly favorable to travelers from the United States, in Venezuela a dollar will buy much less than here. Gunther reported eggs as costing ninety-five cents a dozen; milk, twenty-four cents a quart; soap, eighty cents a cake (would you expect a Venezuelan worker to spend two days' wages for a cake of soap?); butter, \$1.22 a pound.

Later we shall observe that Venezuela has played an interesting role in the foreign affairs of the United States.

Cities and Seaports

THERE are eighteen cities in Latin America with populations of over 250,000. Twelve of

¹John Gunther, *Inside Latin America*, p. 176. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1941.

these are located in the ABC countries (Argentina, Brazil, and Chile). Of these, Brazil boasts six (Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Recife, São Salvador, Porto Alegre, and Belém); Argentina has four (Buenos Aires, Rosario, Avellaneda, and Córdoba); while Chile has two (Santiago and Valparaíso).

Four Latin-American cities number over the million mark in population. Largest, of course, is Buenos Aires, with a population of over 2,500,000. In Brazil, Rio de Janeiro and the rapidly growing São Paulo are both in this class. Mexico City's population of about 1,500,000 allows it to rank not only as the sixth largest city in North America, but as the third metropolis of Latin America.

Of these eighteen largest cities only four are truly inland cities. Córdoba in Argentina, Bogotá in Colombia, La Paz in Bolivia, and Mexico City are the only ones not directly on the sea, on a river navigable to the sea, or served by a port only a few miles away by direct routes. Santiago is not a seaport, but is served by Valparaíso; São Paulo has its Santos; and Lima is but a stone's throw from the harbor of Callao.

Other seaports worthy of mention are Veracruz, on Mexico's gulf coast; Guayaquil, Ecuador's only important port; Barranquilla, Colombia's outlet to the Caribbean; and Antofagasta in northern Chile.

A few brief sketches of some of the many fascinating and distinctive cities of Latin America may make their life more real to you. You will do well to read extensively travelers' accounts of these and other important cities of our southern neighbors.

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Rio de Janeiro, "A Fabulous City"

RIO DE JANEIRO is one of the most beautiful cities of the world. Here is a part of Hudson Strode's description of it: "Its sugar-white beaches, its rocky points and spurs rushed unrestrained into various inlets and bays, and made capricious outlines of new moons, butterflies, and orchids. Mountains smothered in tropical luxuriance tumbled about the heart of the city, terminated shopping streets, stepped boldly off into the ocean. Orange-colored crags formed the back terraces of gardens. Rainbow-tinted villas perched on precipices like eagles' aeries. Double rows of royal palms paraded for blocks on end up avenues, their feathery crowns half a hundred feet above the red roofs of dwellings. The licorice and cream-colored sidewalks, formed of small rounded stones set in whirling patterns, were fairy-tale confections laid out to lure children. Such fantastic harmonies of mountain and sea, of fashionable bathing resorts and jungle wilderness, of French baroque architecture and quay-ganging ships flying pennants of all nations, were as unreal as dreams that lie in opium pellets. It was beyond credibility. Rio, like Xanadu, was a fabulous city created in a romancer's imagination."¹

Rio's harbor provides the perfect setting for such a lovely city. It is distinguished by the famous "Sugarloaf Mountain" at its entrance and the Corvacao ("Hunchback") in the background. The Avenida Rio Branco is the main business street and is notable not only for its shops but for the sidewalk cafes at which the leisurely may sit and watch the

"passing show." The summit of Corvacao, 2000 feet in altitude, is accessible by road or by inclined railway. From this vantage point one can see the whole impressive panorama of the bay, the city, and the surrounding country. In 1922 the work of leveling the Moiro de Castello, a hill on which the early city was founded, was begun. This land was deposited near the harbor entrance and on it was built the Santos Dumont Airport, one of the most admirably situated of metropolitan airports. Rio has a population of about 1,900,000. The mean annual temperature is about 75° Fahrenheit, with a range from 60° minimum in July to 90° in January.

The Chicago of South America

BUENOS AIRES, with a population of 2,500,000, is the largest city of Latin America, and third largest of the Western Hemisphere. Says *Fortune*, "It is a great city in the sense in which Paris and New York are great cities. It is a cosmopolitan, twentieth-century metropolis with all the fixings. . . ." Toward Buenos Aires converge almost all of Argentina's 25,000 miles of railroad. It is the true focus of both Argentine life and the world trade which enters Argentina by way of its docks and quays. Three fourths of all Argentine industrial production takes place in the capital.

Buenos Aires is a wide, sprawling city with beautiful parks, country clubs, race courses, and avenues. The Palermo is its most famous park, where the well-to-do may canter along the bridle paths. At the zoo, Argentine children stare at the strange llama from Peru with as much wonderment as that with which Iowa children would behold a

¹Hudson Strode, *South by Thunderbird*, p. 306. Random House, New York, 1937.

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Rocky Mountain goat; or a llama, for that matter. The *porteños*, residents of Buenos Aires, go to work by taxi, bus, private auto, or subway. They read great metropolitan dailies, probably *La Prensa* or *La Nación*. The upper classes may enjoy polo matches, horseshows, and livestock expositions; the middle and lower groups find entertainment at soccer matches, at the movies, or in any of the thousand and one other entertainment resources of a great world capital.

A City of the Interior

HIGH in the Andean plateau lies the "city of peace," La Paz, the greatest metropolis of the highlands of the interior. It is a mile higher than Denver, yet it is so sheltered in its valley that tropical fruits and flowers may blossom along its lower streets while wild mountain blizzards rage but a few miles away. Although Sucre is the official capital of Bolivia, La Paz, a city of some 250,000 residents, is the actual seat of most governmental activity. La Paz has well-lighted streets; in fact, it was the first South American city to have its avenues lighted by electricity. The principal street is named the *Avenida 16 de Julio* (16th of July Avenue) in commemoration of the first attempt to free Bolivia of Spanish rule. In addition to the official buildings, the National Museum, the Military College, and the Don Bosco College of Arts and Crafts, La Paz possesses an excellent athletic stadium with a seating capacity of 50,000 and facilities for football, basketball, tennis, and swimming. American movies are popular in La Paz, as they are in many other parts of Latin America. It is estimated that ninety per cent of the films shown at its theatres are American-made.

The Nerve Center of Chile

"A SYMPATHETIC VISITOR finds Santiago a city of interesting life and stimulating people. It does not take long to discover that it is also the absolute nerve center of the whole country."¹ Santiago has a population of about 830,000 people and is located in central Chile, on a plain in the best agricultural land of the country. The city's own beautiful scenery is set against a background of perpetually snow-capped Andean peaks, highest of the Western Hemisphere. In Santiago is found a sharp contrast between the old and new in architecture. Some homes retain the patio, the red-tiled roof, and the stuccoed walls of Spanish architecture, while others near by are of the most modernistic glass and concrete design and structure.

The city possesses an unusually excellent water supply, direct from the streams of the Andes; its public lighting system is said to be one of the world's finest. The communications of the capital are all that could be asked, including twenty-two radio broadcasting stations. The Chilean Post Office has one unusual service known as "Fonopostal." Certain post offices are equipped with recording equipment so that one may record a message—sing it if one wishes—and send it to a friend.

The recreational resources of Santiago are exceptional. Of course, the city has many movies and night clubs. For the wealthy there are also the very finest of country clubs. The National Stadium seats 80,000 spectators and serves as a center for soccer, gymnastic events, and cycling races. The beaches of

¹Anne Merriman Peck, *Roundabout South America*. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1940.

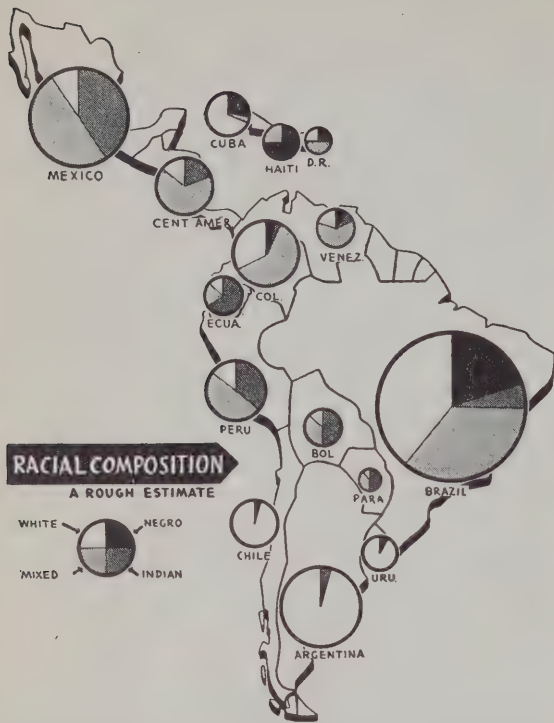
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Negro and white blood, and *zambos*, of mixed Indian and Negro strains.

The English colonist in the New World commonly held himself apart from the Indian, so far as establishing family ties was concerned, but the Spanish, like the French, intermarried from the first with the Indian, thus creating the original *mestizo* strain. So, just as the culture of Latin America contains both European and Indian influences, many of the people are of these two blood strains. Although the Creoles and the Peninsulars, white Spaniards both, occupied most of the governmental positions in Latin-American colonial days, there never appeared a genuine race problem or discrimination against the native race as such.

In Latin America today there are several nations whose population is largely Indian or mestizo with a predominant Indian strain. These include Mexico, Central America (except Costa Rica), Peru, and Venezuela. Ecuador and Bolivia and Paraguay are largely Indian. In Colombia about one third of the population is white, the majority are mestizo, and, as in all of the Caribbean states, there is also a Negro element. In Haiti and the Dominican Republic, most of the population is either Negro or mulatto.

Brazil has large groups of all three racial strains, but there is little or no race prejudice in that nation. Most of the Negro population resides in the northern states. In southern Brazil, in Chile, and in Argentina there are sizeable German immigrant colonies. Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay are almost exclusively white. However, European immigration to Argentina has resulted in a large influx of Italians, who live in the cities as



ESTIMATED DIFFERENCES IN RACIAL COMPOSITION IN LATIN AMERICA¹

the Pacific are easily available; while a short journey to the east brings one to the foothills of the Andes, with their wonderful facilities for winter sports—skiing, skating, and tobogganing. Like the citizens of California, the Chileños may enjoy either summer or winter sports as they desire.

Racial Composition

IN LATIN AMERICA there are many racial variations, but few race problems. The racial strains are predominately white, Indian, Negro, or combinations of these. The *mestizos*, persons of mixed Indian and white blood, are the most numerous of these combinations. There are also *mulattoes*, of mixed

¹From *Headline Books: Look at Latin America*, published by the Foreign Policy Association.

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industrial workers or become agricultural workers on the great estates.

All in all, the human element of Latin America is the most interesting aspect and at the same time the most difficult to classify. But this seems to be true of all nations. Between the Rio Grande and the Straits of Magellan there are considerably over 120,000,000 people, individuals of many mixtures of blood, degrees of education and culture, of every economic station—from groveling poverty to fantastic wealth.

There are Haitian Negro statesmen, educated in the universities of Europe, versed in many languages, practiced in the arts of diplomacy and the graces of the ballroom; on the same island back-country folk practice African voodoo and live in abysmal ignorance and superstition. In Brazil the "melting pot" is a cauldron of racial amalgamation where the lines between Indian, Negro, and white grow continually more ill-defined. On the plains live the remaining cowboys, the *gauchos* of Argentina and Uruguay or the *huasos* of Chile—romantic, perhaps; hardworking and hard-riding, surely. In Buenos Aires are Englishmen living in their own social circles, banking their incomes from Argentine cattle, industry, and railroads in London banks. In Argentina, too,—and in Uruguay and southern Brazil,—were the German colonists. These have been hardworking and thrifty, good farmers and good tradesmen. Sometimes they and the large groups of Italian colonists in Argentina have become completely loyal to the American nations in which they live; sometimes they have cut all ties of allegiance to Berlin and Rome, sometimes—but not always.

Indians, mulattoes, Portuguese, mestizos, Japanese, Germans, English, Italians, Spaniards,—all these and more too,—complicate and vary the racial and national patterns of Latin America. There is no single pattern; there is the widest of ranges from the simple Caucasian pattern of Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay to the racial complex of Brazil.

Sketches of Types

PERHAPS we can best understand the people of Latin America by observing a few types in sharper focus. For example, there are the "people of the mountains," the Indians of Andean Peru. Says John Gunther, "Up the hill you will see Indians who have not changed much in four hundred years. Their blanched and isolated primitiveness, three days from New York by air, makes darkest Africa look like Radio City by comparison."

INDIAN OF THE PLATEAU

"Up the hill" lives Pedro Amaru. On the plateau high in the lands of the ancient Incan empire he lives in the communal village with his wife and family. Poor and illiterate, he ekes out a subsistence from the scanty mountain soil. He cultivates the earth with a primitive "foot plow" whose origin is lost in the mists of antiquity. Undernourished, but hardly knowing it, he is addicted to chewing the coca leaves, whose narcotic effects seem to dull the edge of hardship and fatigue. During the growing season he may leave his family on the plateau to tend the crops and llamas while he migrates to the great estates in the valley to labor in the fields and harvest for a few cents a day. With an accumulation of cash or trinkets for the home folks, he returns to the village after the season of

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employment is over. Perhaps on his return the entire family and even the clan will go to Cusco, ancient capital of the Indians, to sell their goods in the market, to see old friends, and to get a glimpse of a world wider than their hill village. This is the pattern of life for many of the five million Indians of Peru and for millions like them in Bolivia, Colombia, and Ecuador. On Sundays and Holy Days they attend the services of the Church, for the missionaries of Spain conquered the Indians no less than did the soldiers of Pizarro.

HACENDADO

In sharp contrast is the life of Señor Juan Roberto Montez, the owner of a wealthy estate on the pampas. Educated in Madrid and Paris, he returned to Argentina in his early twenties to assume the direction of his cattle ranches. Although he is a man of wide social and cultural interests, his chief economic preoccupation is concern over the price of prime beef on world markets. Although he is courteous to American visitors, he does not hesitate to insist that the *yanqui* government can never be a true "good neighbor" to Argentina until it becomes a better customer. He has many good friends in both England and Germany, and is somewhat confused over the basic issues of the war. Like our midwestern cattle-raisers, he expresses a grievance against the packing interests as trusts, and indicates a belief that the middleman gets too large a share of the profits of agricultural production. He appears lukewarm to the rising tide of industrialization in Buenos Aires and Rosario. His pride in his fine livestock is evident, and is barely restrained when he shows you the photographs of the Grand Champion bull

which he shipped abroad for a price of \$22,000.

BRAZILIAN INTELLECTUAL

In Rio de Janeiro lives Raoul Manuel Penna, young twentieth-century intellectual. The younger son of the owner of a coffee plantation, he was reared in luxury, traveled abroad, and chose to take his liberal-arts training at Harvard. A few years ago he was much worried over what he took to be fascist tendencies in the administration of President Vargas. Today he is a loyal supporter of that administration because of its courageous stand on the side of democracy in the world struggle for freedom. He is an idealistic believer in complete co-operation with the United States. He was convinced by his associations in America that North Americans are resolved to live down the bad name of "Yankee imperialist" and make the "good-neighbor" policy real. Like all civilized and educated men he has been shocked by the ruthlessness and brutality of the Nazi system in Europe: its racial discriminations, its abasement of humanity, its execution of hostages, its record of aggression and murder. Axis propagandists who have whispered their veiled lies to him about American dreams of hemispheric domination have been silenced sharply by his scorn for their crudity.

CITY WORKER

In Santiago lives Arturo López. He works in one of the nation's domestic industries, a shoe factory. His wage amounts to about thirty dollars a month. He has a good job and is considered a well-paid employee. Labor laws protect him with pensions, medical benefits, and compulsory vacations. He works an eight-hour day—the legal standard.

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By comparative standards, his wages buy less than a worker's in the United States. He has little to spend on medical aid for his family, and his food budget is one of severe choices, yet he is one of the more fortunate of Latin-American workingmen.

In summarizing the national differences and outlooks of the nations of Latin America, these generalizations will be helpful: Most dependent on world markets for outlets for surplus agricultural products are Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Uruguay, Cuba,

and the "banana republics." There is a significant national interest in world outlets for mineral resources in Chile, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, and Bolivia. Most isolated of Latin-American nations from significant contribution to world trade is Paraguay. Politically, Argentina, Chile, and Brazil have the largest influence in world affairs, from the standpoint of influence and prestige. Uruguay is important as a buffer state, but more important because of its practiced devotion to democracy.

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Mexico, Central America, and the West Indian Republics

Mexico

BECAUSE, on maps of North America, Mexico is somewhat dwarfed by comparison with the United States and Canada, its true size is not well appreciated. Actually Mexico is about one fourth as large as the United States; and by recent estimates its population is about 20,000,000, of which the great bulk are Indian and mestizo. The mestizo has been the most rapidly increasing element; and, because of the preponderance of Indian blood over white, the mestizo strain is strongly Indian. In fact, although Mexico's official and chiefly used language is Spanish, it is estimated that some 2,000,000 Mexican Indians speak only their native languages.

Geographically, Mexico is shaped like a rough V, bounded on the sides by high mountain ranges. On the west the mountains are close to the Pacific; the coastal plain is narrow and cut by many lagoons and inlets. In the east the mountains are farther from the Caribbean coast and leave a wide coastal strip, suitable in some respects for tropical agriculture, but scarcely habitable because of the humid, tropical climate and the insect pests that abound. The central plateau is the most habitable region. The separate areas, even here, are inclined toward semi-isolation, because of the many ridges which cross the plateau. Although Mexican people live largely by agriculture, the in-

adequacy of rainfall in many regions prevents free soil utilization. Much of northern Mexico is either semiarid or virtual desert. The southern section of the central plateau has a reasonably dependable summer rainfall; and, with the advantages of a moderate temperature due to the altitude, this portion of Mexico is the most habitable and progressive section of the country.

Mexican agriculture is faced by two principal problems: the conquest of natural difficulties and the question of control and ownership of the land. The division of the productive areas into small local regions by mountains, hills, and valleys offers many obstacles to farming. The question of transportation to market is a difficult one in many of these areas. There is also the problem of insufficient rainfall—perhaps it would be better to say undependable rainfall, for many regions suffer from periods of torrential cloudbursts in some years and periods of drought in others.

It is estimated that about one fourth of Mexico's total area is fit for cultivation; yet at present Mexico utilizes only about 25 per cent of that quarter. Therefore considerable expansion and extension of Mexican agriculture appears possible. It is also true that in many regions the job of educating farmers in modern, scientific agricultural methods still remains to be done.

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Mexico grows corn and beans for home consumption; sugar, cotton, rice, and tropical fruits are produced in suitable areas; and there is a considerable grazing industry on the plateau and semiarid regions, where cattle, sheep, pigs, and goats are raised. In the low region of Yucatan both sisal (henequen) and chicle are grown. Sisal is used for making binder twine and rope, while chicle is the principal constituent of chewing gum.

Even as in the days of the *conquistadores*, Mexico has great wealth in minerals. Silver is the most important, but gold, copper, and lead are also significant. Petroleum, of course, is likewise important.

The United States has been Mexico's best customer in world trade. Over half of its imports also come from the United States. Britain ranks second in importance and was closely rivaled by Germany in the prewar years. Among Mexico's principal exports are silver, lead, zinc, petroleum, copper, coffee, sisal, and chicle.

Mexican political events and conflicts have a confusing background. Even though its political history has on occasion been chaotic, the idea that Mexico is a land of continual upheaval and virtual anarchy is altogether erroneous. Americans who have traveled in Mexico can testify to the general orderliness of the normal routine. Yet it is also true that Mexican elections have often lacked the tranquillity that we like to associate with constitutional procedure. Indeed the last presidential election, in 1940, was one of the most bitterly contested affairs in Mexican experience. The situation is best understood by a brief survey of Mexican political history.

In 1810 the epidemic of revolutions against Spain swept Mexico. Father Miguel Hidalgo, a priest who sought to improve the lot of the Mexican Indian, was the first standard-bearer of the revolt. He was defeated by the Spaniards, was killed, and became the martyr of the Mexican revolution. Another priest, Father Morelos, carried on his work. The military campaigns of the war of independence were actually carried on by General Iturbide.

The first half century of Mexican independence was chaotic. Civil strife over elections, plundering of the public treasuries by corrupt officials, and general irresponsibility in regard to debts and obligations led to disrepute in foreign circles. It was during this period, under the military despotism of Santa Anna, that the Texas revolution and the war with the United States took place. (These events are discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight.)

The year 1857 is a great constitutional landmark in Mexican history. In this year was formed a liberal constitution which re-established the federal system that had been destroyed by Santa Anna. Combined with reforms instituted in 1859, this provided for a complete set of civil rights, including freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and fair trial. In addition, church lands were taken by the government, and the separation of Church and state was effected.

A full-blooded Indian, Benito Juárez, was Mexico's greatest democratic hero of the nineteenth century. It was during his administration that the attempt of the French to set up a puppet empire under Maximilian was made. (See Chapter Eight.) Juárez was a

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genuine believer in the rights of the common man. Had he not been forced to devote most of his energies to defeating the European plot against Mexican independence, he might have gone much farther in establishing genuine democratic institutions in Mexico.

After the death of Juárez in 1872, an extraordinary interlude in Mexican history appears. This is the period of the military dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz. Except for four years (1880-1884), Díaz dominated Mexican government continually from 1877 to 1911. He had been a competent soldier and lieutenant to Juárez and was a mestizo.

In some respects the rule of Porfirio Díaz was beneficial to Mexico. Unquestionably Mexico's prestige in the eyes of the world was increased by the establishment of credit and a sound monetary system, and by the enforcement of law and order where riot and revolt had been so common. Díaz also embarked on a considerable program of internal improvement for the nation. To accomplish this program he was very friendly toward foreign investors who wished to develop Mexico's resources. He tried to convince them that their investments would be secured by his emphasis on internal stability. During the years of the personal rule of Díaz most of Mexico's railroads were built, including lines linking her with the vast railway system of the United States. In addition, tariffs were enacted to encourage and protect the establishment of manufactures, and telegraph lines, harbors, and canals were constructed. Materially, there were many evidences of progress under the Díaz regime.

Yet, in spite of the tangible evidences of progress and the unquestioned benefits of

three decades free of serious internal disturbances, there were many objectionable features to the rule of Díaz. These may be summarized thus:

1. As is always the case under a dictatorship, the people were deprived of their civil and political liberties. Like the Nazi *Gestapo* in a later day, Díaz's police force, the *Rurales*, gained a reputation for ruthlessness and cruelty in stamping out any semblance of opposition to the dictator's wishes. Juárez's dreams of a free press, fair trial, and constitutional government were remote from the realities of this administration.

2. Furthermore, as is also typical of any dictatorship, the benefits of material improvement came only to a few. The increase of foreign investment meant great dividends for the foreign investors and huge revenues for the political associates of Díaz; it did not mean a better standard of living for the Mexican people in general. The city laborer and the rural worker did not share in the economic progress of the nation. Like Mussolini, Díaz banned labor unions. The farms of the Indians and mestizos were swallowed up in the great estates, whose wealthy proprietors found it advantageous to keep the peons in a state of ignorance, poverty, and near-serfdom.

Therefore it may be fair to say of Díaz that, through a regime carried on by iron-handed methods, he created an appearance of law and order; that he gave Mexico a better name among nations and a sounder credit among investors; but that he also largely ignored the social and economic problems of the majority of the Mexican people.

In 1911 the revolutionary forces in Mexico that had been held in check for so long

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broke into action. Díaz was re-elected president in 1910 but he was too old and tired to pursue the opposition with his customary vigour. Leadership of the revolution was assumed first by Francisco Madero, who in several publications promised constitutional government and the return of lands to small proprietors. Guerrilla warfare against the "federals" broke out all over Mexico under various leaders. In the north Madero depended on Pascual Orozco and the famous bandit Pancho Villa. In the state of Morelos, south of Mexico City, an independent revolution broke out under the Indian leader Emiliano Zapata.

Zapata's share in the Mexican revolution was that of the people's leader. The slogan of the Zapatistas was *Tierra y Libertad* (Land and Liberty). By the end of the Díaz regime a few thousand men owned most of Mexico's land. Those who worked the soil, mostly Indians and mestizos, some nine or ten million strong, were without property and in a state of virtual serfdom. It is related that Zapata was first filled with indignation when he observed that the horses of the aristocrats were better housed and fed than was his own family.

As is often the case after the ironclad rule of a dictator collapses, the years following the death of Díaz were years of political chaos. Madero ruled for two years (1911-1913), was assassinated, and was succeeded in power by Huerta. Rebellion against Huerta broke out in the north under Carranza, whose military leaders at first were General Obregón and Pancho Villa. During this phase American Marines were landed in Veracruz, principally to protect American

property and to prevent aid from reaching Huerta. As a sidelight to this phase were the final escapades of the career of Pancho Villa. This undisciplined leader finally broke with even the loose disciplines of the revolution and struck out in a wild series of bandit raids in the north. At one time he was pursued by an American expedition under General Pershing.

By 1915 the Carranza government had secured control of Mexico City and the recognition of the United States. Meanwhile Zapata was in control of the south and remained so until his death in 1919.

In 1917 the ideals of the revolution were put into constitutional form. The principal provisions of the constitution were these:

1. Agrarian reform. The gradual breakup of the *haciendas* (large estates) was provided for, and grants of land were to be made to the villages and to individuals.

2. Control of the Church by the State. The Church was deprived of property rights and the right of political criticism. The legislatures might limit the number of priests.

3. Labor legislation. The rights of labor organizations were protected by law. Provision for education, insurance, and compensation was made by statute.

4. Nationalization of mineral wealth. The groundwork for later "expropriation" was laid by the declaration that waters and minerals were national property.

In general, Carranza did little to put the provisions of the constitution into effect, and in 1920 he was replaced in power by General Obregón. For the next fourteen years Mexican politics were dominated by General

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Obregón and General Plutarco Calles, a period marked by considerable political confusion, but also by the gradual putting into effect of some aspects of the constitution. In many respects, however, the speed of the revolution had slowed considerably. Reforms in land distribution, labor legislation, and regulation of foreign capital were effected, but the social and economic position of the majority of Mexicans remained unsatisfactory.

In 1934 Lázaro Cárdenas was elected president of Mexico. Mexico became an active socialist nation as Cárdenas embarked on a program of change known as the "Six-Year Plan." In accordance with this plan Mexico instituted a vigorous program of indoctrination and education through an expanded school system. The illiteracy rate has been sharply cut down by both child and adult education, but the difficulties in establishing a genuinely universal educational system for Mexico can hardly be exaggerated. Transportation into some regions is so handicapped by natural obstacles as to make them almost inaccessible. In other sections the natives are so suspicious of the intentions of outsiders that the life of the rural teacher may actually be in danger.

Yet in a single good year about 2500 schools were established.¹ The "Six-Year Plan" tried to approach Mexico's educational program in a realistic spirit. Since most of the illiterates lived in rural areas, much emphasis was placed on the establishment of rural schools, and many such schools were

established with a vocational-training program uppermost. The emphasis on scientific agriculture is a sound one in a nation where most of the students will make a living from the soil.

In the elementary grades a strong effort is made not only to make the child literate but to help him to acquire attitudes that will improve society. Since a lack of industriousness is known to be a fault of the Mexican worker, the child is taught the idea of the virtue of enterprise. He is also instructed in personal hygiene and the evils of strong drink. The importance of an education which makes the child aware of conditions better than those he is accustomed to, and which shows him a way to better his own condition, cannot be overemphasized. The child may be able to bring home practical knowledge that will result in domestic innovations—the use of sanitary devices, for example. At any rate, the United States has long enough linked education and democracy together to believe that Mexico has taken a step ahead by expanding its educational system.

The distribution of land was greatly speeded under the "Six-Year Plan." Cárdenas was a firm believer in the distribution of the land on the *ejido* system. The *ejido* is somewhat like the Russian collective farm,—a large agricultural unit supporting many rural workers and their families. They have a group ownership or community title to the land, but management is carried on by the government and the banks. In many respects, the Mexican *ejido* is a natural form of landholding for that nation, for it is similar to the old Indian communal village hold-

¹Frank L. Kluckhohn, *The Mexican Challenge*, p. 157. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., New York, 1939. (Chapter X in this book contains an illuminating discussion entitled "Education—New Style.")



H. Armstrong Roberts

Loading Bananas on a Plantation in Costa Rica

"Souvenirs" of Mexican Silver

Mrs. Branson De Cou



Pottery-makers of Guatemala

Mrs. Branson De Cou





Herbert C. Lanks

A Market Scene in Santa Tecla, El Salvador

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ing of land. The principal advantages of the *ejido* system seem to be that

1. The profits of the plantation do not go to a few wealthy *hacendados*.

2. The worker has more incentive to labor and receives more food for himself and his family.

3. It is based on a social organization, the communal holding, that is part of the native tradition.

4. It provides a unit large enough for the use of machinery and scientific mass-production methods.

On the other hand, there have been these criticisms of the *ejido* system:

1. That agricultural production has declined under it. (This could be partly due to more consumption of food on the farm itself.)

2. That it does not satisfy the desire for individual land ownership.

3. That therefore it does not give adequate incentive for the worker to put forth his best energies.

One of the foremost students of the Mexican agrarian problem, Mr. Tyler Simpson, calls the *ejido* "Mexico's way out." He is convinced that in general its advantages outweigh its drawbacks.

President Camacho, successor to Cárdenas, does not favor this system, however. Under his administration efforts have been made to distribute the lands in small lots directly to individual owners. Therefore, if this plan is followed to completion, Mexico will have neither the large privately owned *haciendas* nor the *ejidos* under communal ownership,

but a system of small farms under individual ownership.

Expropriation

THE MOST DRASTIC step taken by the Cárdenas administration was the expropriation of the foreign oil concessions, refineries, and equipment in 1938. This act affected principally British and American properties. By the constitution of 1917 the minerals and waters of Mexico were declared to be the nation's property. Foreign investors at that time had been troubled over the meaning of this declaration. The Obregón-Calles administrations, however, took no drastic steps in the direction of national control, preferring to tax these enterprises and to allow the foreign investor to assume the risks of production and marketing. The labor unions and strong nationalist groups in Mexico, however, were agitating against the control of Mexico's resources by foreign companies. They maintained that the benefits of the resources were being utilized abroad, while the workers in Mexico received only a bare living, poor housing, and bad working conditions. The oil companies argued in rebuttal that labor conditions on their properties were better than the average conditions in Mexico.

In 1936 the courts affirmed the legality of expropriation. Two years later Cárdenas decreed that foreign concessions in the oil industry were terminated and their properties expropriated. That is, the oil properties were to be taken over by the Mexican government and operated as a national industry. It is debatable, and a question that time must settle, whether the Mexican government actually will benefit in the long run from this policy. There is some doubt as to

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marketing prospects and technical understanding. However, the Mexican government has been training technicians for this work and has shown a determination to make the experiment work.

The attitude of the United States toward the expropriation was a significant proof of our resolution not to intervene again in our neighbor's affairs. The only official reaction was a note of formal protest against the step. Naturally the oil companies involved wanted more support. However, the United States decided that in view of the world situation it was best to show our sincere intentions of maintaining our "good-neighbor" policy. In fact, the United States continued to buy Mexican silver at a premium price after the expropriation took place. By this we demonstrated our friendly intention to support the economic life of Mexico.

Mexico's solidarity in hemispheric relations was proved during the administration of Avila Camacho, elected in 1940. Its prompt action against the Axis, culminating in its declaration of war, showed clearly the improvement in relations since the First World War. At that time its neutrality was doubtful, but the real question was of friendliness to the United States. Today Mexico belongs in the proud group of freedom-loving countries that call themselves the United Nations.

Central America

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS have been "invaded," in various senses of the word, by Americans on at least four different occasions. Although these republics attempted

to begin their national history as a federation, and have repeatedly tried to reorganize as such, political upheavals and local separateness have kept them apart. Political ferment and revolution have been a too well-known phenomenon of Central American politics.

It was in connection with a domestic revolution that the first of the American invasions came. In 1854, when rival factions were struggling for the control of Nicaragua, one group called in the American filibuster and "soldier of fortune" William Walker. With great energy he seized control of the revolution and made himself dictator of Nicaragua. Probably he had ambitions of creating a Central American empire based on slave labor, but he was overthrown by a combination of Central American forces and was finally shot. Although he was a mere adventurer acting in a private capacity, his vicious career did no good to the reputation of the United States.

The second invasion was of a different and more beneficial variety. This was the establishment of the "empire" of the United Fruit Company. Bananas play a very influential role in the economy of Central America. In Honduras they comprise about four fifths of the exports; of Nicaragua's total exports they vary in value from one fourth to one half; in Costa Rica they rank second in importance to coffee; and Guatemala's bananas constitute about 10 per cent of her exports. Since 1900 the banana industry has been a virtual monopoly of this American corporation, which operates plantations, railroads, and steamship lines; has reclaimed thousands of acres of tropical land for profit-

able use; and has brought employment and some civilizing influences. On the other hand, its critics point out that most of its profits go out of Central America and that it has probably used undue political influence in building its "empire."

The building of the Panama Canal was an invasion of American engineers and medical officers. Outside of its questionable diplomatic aspects, later discussed in detail, there is no doubt as to the beneficial results of this enterprise to the entire hemisphere and, indeed, to the whole world. The two oceans' being thus linked brought easier trade access to every Latin-American nation. Not only that, but the lessons in tropical sanitation and public health learned by the United States have been valuable to many other nations. The United States need not be proud of its method of acquiring canal rights, but no one can question its right to pride in the final achievement.

The fourth set of invasions was actual armed intervention in certain Central American countries. These invasions will be discussed later.

Central America forms a causeway between North and South America. Although it appears to link the two continents, it did not serve that purpose until the day of the Pan-American highway. There are six independent states: Costa Rica, Panama, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Honduras.¹ The largest of these are Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Honduras, each of which has approximately the area of New York

State. The smallest is El Salvador, whose area equals that of Rhode Island, Delaware, and Maryland combined.

Many of the mountain areas and tropical jungles have gone unexplored for centuries. The coastal regions, like the east coast of Mexico, are humid, tropical marshlands. The mountain spine is irregular, but is closer to the Pacific coast than to the Atlantic. There are a number of active volcanoes, some of which have erupted disastrously. Soils of volcanic origin, however, are of good productivity. The plateaus on the Pacific side are the most habitable regions and support the largest populations.

Costa Rica

COSTA RICA is an unusual nation. Unlike its neighbors in Central America its people are largely of Spanish descent, only a small proportion of its more than half a million inhabitants being of Indian stock. The political stability of Costa Rica is also noteworthy. Most of Costa Rican agriculture is carried on on owner-operated small farms. This is a large factor in explaining the democratic life of Costa Rica. Costa Rica ranks with Argentina and Uruguay in boasting one of the lowest percentages of illiteracy in the Latin Americas. Economically, Costa Rica lives mainly by the export of her crops, principally to England and the United States. High-quality coffee is first in importance; bananas and cacao are also important, and gold is mined for export. San José, the capital, located inland on the plateau, is served by railways to both principal seaports, Port Limón on the Caribbean and Puntarenas on the Pacific.

¹Because of its negligible importance and its doubtful right to be considered part of Latin America proper, we omit British Honduras from consideration.

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Nicaragua

Nicaragua, unlike Costa Rica, is predominantly a nation of mestizos. It has had a tumultuous political history, including many domestic revolutions, the filibustering of William Walker, and the intervention of the United States Marines. In 1916 the United States paid Nicaragua \$3,000,000 for possible canal rights. The building of a canal across Nicaragua has been debated and discussed again and again, but has never materialized. Interior lakes would form an important part of such a route, just as they do now in the transportation system of Nicaragua. Lake Nicaragua is about 100 miles long and half as wide. Of Nicaragua's export and import trade about half is with the United States. In normal times France, Germany, and England are also good customers. Coffee is the principal item of export, with bananas a close second. Gold is mined and sold to the United States. There is also a considerable cattle industry; some of the cattle are sold "on the hoof" in Central American markets, others are butchered and the hides exported.

Panama

THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA was not originally regarded as a Central American country, since until 1903 it was a state in the Republic of Colombia. Because of the narrowness of the isthmus at this point and the existence of a pass through the mountains, Panama has always been a highway for travel between the oceans. Like other nations of the Caribbean, Panama was once known as a hideout for cutthroats and pirates of the brand of Henry Morgan, and as the source of lurking pestilence in the forms of yellow fever and

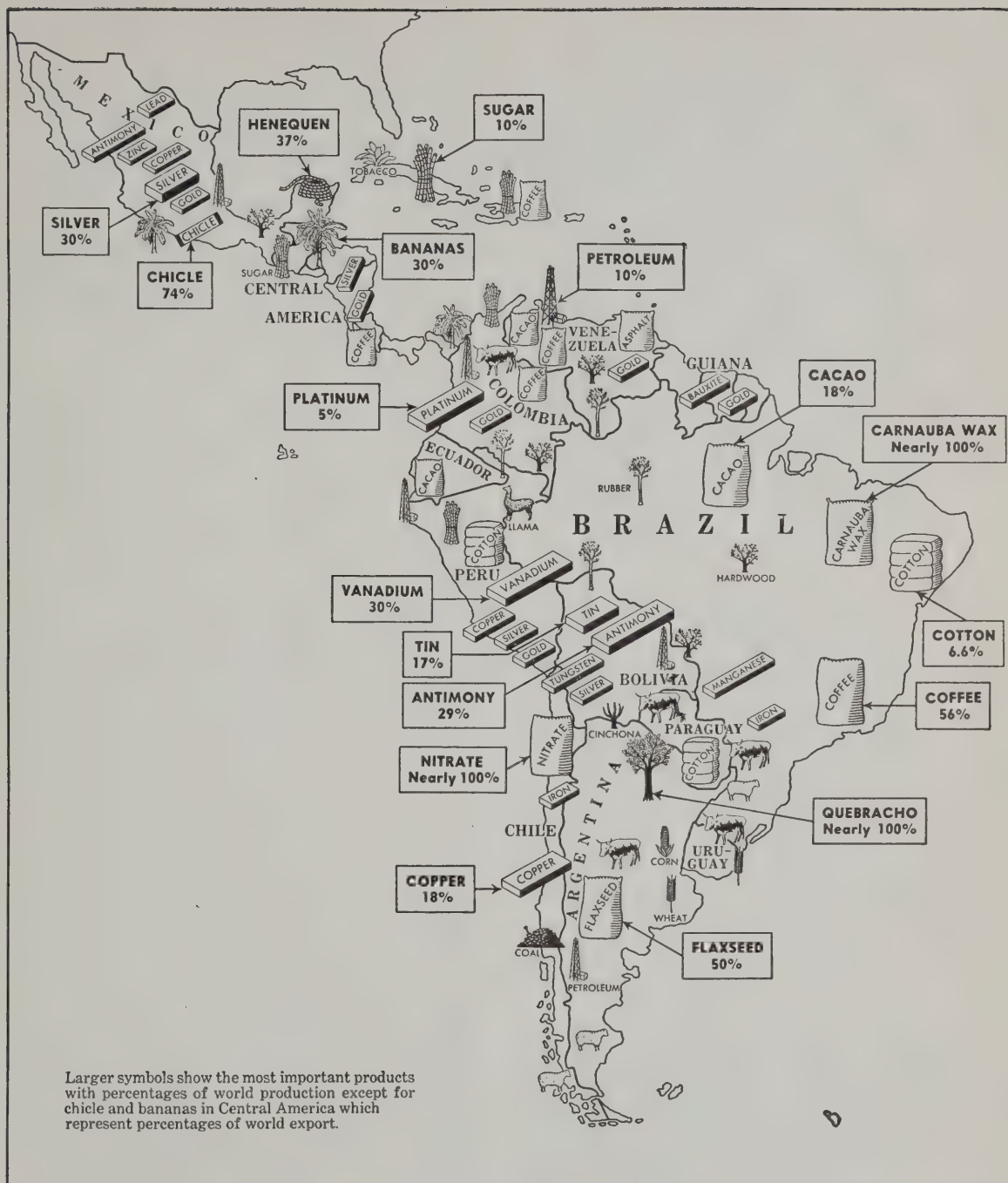
malaria. The black flag has long since disappeared from the Spanish Main, and sanitary engineers have conquered the mosquito plagues in most of the cities. Although Panamanians are largely of mestizo stock, there are numerous Negroes and a small group of whites. The natives live in great simplicity, and there is a good deal of mere subsistence agriculture. Most of the trade of Panama is with the United States, the principal export commodities being bananas and cacao.

El Salvador

EL SALVADOR is the smallest nation of Central America and the most densely populated. It is only about one half the size of Costa Rica, yet it has three times its population. Its population is primarily Indian and mestizo. It has no coastline on the Caribbean. As would be expected from the area and population, subsistence agriculture is very important in the lives of the natives. Practically all El Salvador's export trade is in coffee, which is produced on commercial plantations and, in normal times, shipped to the United States, England, and Central Europe.

Honduras

HONDURAS has a population of over a million, largely mestizo. It is, like the rest of Central America, chiefly an agricultural nation. It has a broad Caribbean coastline and a narrow outlet to the Pacific. Since most of the nation is mountainous, transportation in the interior is undeveloped. Honduras is a "banana nation" in export trade. She is the leader in Central America, also, in the mining of gold and silver.



Courtesy of the Foreign Policy Association

THE RICHES OF LATIN AMERICA

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Guatemala

GUATEMALA is the most populous of Central American nations, with Indian blood predominating. German and Italian immigrants have developed many of its plantation and agricultural resources. Guatemalan railroads are linked with the Mexican system and the transportation system is moderately well developed. In the interior are great Mayan ruins. These and the picturesque beauty of Guatemala City, as well as the interesting native Indian crafts and customs, make Guatemala one of the favorite tourist nations of Central America. Before the war Guatemalan coffee producers sent the bulk of their crop to Germany. The United States has been one of Guatemala's best customers for bananas and chicle.

In all Central America agriculture is the principal means of livelihood, with coffee, bananas, cacao, and cattle as the chief products. Except in Costa Rica, Indian and mestizo strains are dominant in the populations. Transportation by railroad serves the principal cities, but highways in general are poor. Education is legally required but not universally acquired. The Roman Catholic is the dominant religion.

The West Indies

EUROPEAN colonial control remains extensive in the islands of the West Indies. The French exercise control over several, the largest of which are Martinique and Guadeloupe; the British possess many, including the Bahamas, Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad; the Dutch own a few, including Aruba and Curaçao. Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and a series of strategic bases on British islands constitute

the holdings of the United States in this region. In general the role of these colonies in the affairs of Latin America is not significant, since these islands do not act for themselves. Therefore consideration will be given only to the self-governing nations of the West Indies.

There are only three independent republics in the West Indies,—Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic.

Cuba

CUBA is an island only slightly smaller in area than the state of Pennsylvania. It has a population of over 4,000,000, the majority of whom are of the white race, although there is a strong minority of Negroes and mulattoes. The influence of the United States in the affairs of Cuba has in the past made it a virtual protectorate. However, in accordance with our new hemispheric policy, interference in Cuban political affairs has been greatly reduced. Colonel Batista, the president of Cuba, administers the nation under a vigorous personal rule, wherein the rights of opposition have been strictly limited and criticism of the government is discouraged.

Cuba's agricultural economy is dominated by the cane-sugar industry. In the development of this industry it has been largely dependent on foreign capital, principally from the United States. Its market for sugar depends primarily on import quotas accepted by the United States. As the world's foremost producer of high-grade sugar, Cuba is in an advantageous position in regard to climate, soil, equipment, and nearness to markets in the United States. Tobacco-growing and the manufacture of

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cigars and cigarettes are of second importance in Cuba's economy; not, however, a close second. Cuba's dependence on sugar must be re-emphasized. In addition, it exports molasses, fruits, hides, and some iron and manganese. By far the best customer for its exports is the United States, which takes over three quarters of its export produce. As a nation Cuba suffers in a sense from too much dependence on staple crops for exports. Local standards of living could be raised by increased diversification of farming, and many improvements could be made in soil use that would increase the domestic food supply.

Cuba's capital is the beautiful city of Havana. This city is a splendid seaport and has a population of considerably over half a million. Cuba's educational system, which provides for compulsory elementary education, is inadequate in its support and extent, but has reduced illiteracy to about one in three persons. The University of Havana is the nation's leading institution of higher education.

Haiti

THE ISLAND of Hispaniola contains the other two independent nations of the West Indies: on the west lies the Republic of Haiti; on the east, the Dominican Republic. Haiti is about half the size of the Dominican Republic, but has twice its population. Haiti's population is almost exclusively Negro and mulatto. It won its independence of France in 1795. The hero of its revolutionary period was the brilliant Negro leader Toussaint L'Ouverture. Napoleon's soldiers attempted the reconquest of Haiti, but were defeated by the resistance of the natives and yellow

fever. Muddled internal affairs led to armed intervention by the United States in 1915. Under United States supervision conditions of education and public health were considerably improved. Today Haiti runs its government again without interference.

Haiti's economic dependence has been principally on coffee, with cotton a poor second. Its best customers before the war were France, England, and the United States. Most of its manufactured goods were bought from the United States and from Japan. The distinguishing characteristics of Haiti are its Negro society and government; its use of the French language; and its agricultural emphasis on coffee and cotton.

Dominican Republic

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC has less Negro blood than Haiti, because of a considerable mixture with Spanish and some completely white stock. Spanish is the official language. As in Haiti, United States Marines once were landed to handle native affairs. The Dominican Republic depends largely on cane sugar, but has more diversified exports than Haiti, since it ships considerable quantities of cacao, coffee, tobacco, and molasses. Its best customers have been England, the United States, and France.

The republic is attempting to encourage settlement of refugees from the Nazi-invaded nations. Tracts of land have been set aside, and some colonists have already taken advantage of this refuge. It is hoped that they will supply leadership and energy toward the development of the nation.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE WORLD STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

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Agricultural Life and Problems of Latin America

IN STUDYING the agricultural¹ pattern of Latin America, it is important that we emphasize the great significance of the soil wealth of the continent. Agriculture is the greatest source of South American wealth, yet only about 5 per cent of the total area of the continent is under cultivation. Although in every country farming and farm labor constitute the principal means of livelihood, commercial farming is generally centered in a few important regions. By commercial farming we mean agriculture which produces a significant surplus that enters into important markets and frequently into world trade.

The most important regions where commercial agriculture is carried on are the pampas and other productive areas of Argentina, Uruguay, the highlands and the northern coastal areas of Brazil, the Central Valley of Chile, the coastal strip of Peru, the fertile valleys of Colombia, and the sugar regions of Cuba and Puerto Rico.

There is also found in Latin America a widely scattered subsistence agriculture. This is farming conducted on a scale to fill the food requirements of a family or a local community. Sometimes a small surplus will go into a cash market, but not in significant amounts. Frequently subsistence agriculture

is accompanied by domestic or home manufacture, by which combination a family or community is able to become virtually self-sufficient. The native Indians or mestizos of the isolated interior of Brazil, of the plateaus and uplands, and of the separated valleys of the Andes are particularly given to this way of life. Subsistence agriculture gives evidence of undeveloped transportation and communications; of lack of employment opportunities in manufacture, trade, or other specialized endeavor; and of close-knit family and community life under a simple form of social and economic organization.

It is commercial agriculture, however, that gives us reliable data on national wealth and that enters into the political and economic relations of Latin America with the outside world. To understand the pattern of agriculture we must first realize the basic fact that Latin-American farming is dominated, for better or for worse, by the large landowners. The small independent farmer scarcely exists in important numbers. Two good reasons for this are that he cannot compete with the low production costs of large-scale production and cheap labor, and that he cannot raise enough capital to weather the bad years that even in wealthy lands sometimes hit the farmer. Where he does exist, the small farmer finds himself without political influence and hardly worthy of the notice of the owners of the great estates which produce the bulk of the marketable crops.

¹Generally, in this chapter, in referring to agriculture we include both crop and animal production. On occasion, where the need to be specific is clear, we have made the differentiation.

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The extent of the large estates is remarkable. In 1937, in the province of Buenos Aires, 230 landlords owned an average of 46,191 acres each.¹ These were not semiarid grazing lands or soils of marginal productivity; they were of the richest productivity, farm lands unexcelled anywhere in the world. In American history the famous Dalrymple ranch of the Dakotas is frequently given special mention because of its 55,000 acres. Yet the holdings of 2072 Argentinian families in 1937 averaged 64,824 acres *each*. In Brazil the pattern is similar. A holding of 15,000 acres is not unusual; 5000 acres is a moderate-sized plantation. In Chile we observe sharp contrasts in the size of the subsistence and the plantation holdings. In 1936 the small farms (150,000 in number) averaged 21.3 acres each; at the same time 626 large estates averaged 57,182 acres each.²

From these figures it can easily be understood that in Latin America there is commonly in each nation a small group of landed aristocrats whose wealth and influence is based on the ownership of large estates. Since their influence in politics is strong, you will not be surprised to see many policies that reflect their attitudes. In general they are conservative, opposed to change. This is a natural result of their social and economic position and training. They are interested in world markets, and are inclined to feel friendly toward those who buy their products. Since they employ thousands of laborers, they are likely to oppose workers' reforms and to resent attempts by government to interfere in the management of their estates.

¹Hubert Herring, *Good Neighbors*, p. 39. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941.

²*Ibid.* p. 191.

Argentina is by all odds the greatest agricultural producer of Latin America. Although we shall observe that industry and manufacture have made considerable progress in this country, it is still agriculture that dominates the scene. The industrial census of 1935 showed that the amount invested in farming and grazing was six times the investment in industry. Of the nation's exports 90 per cent are agricultural and pastoral.¹

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the bulk of the exports of Argentina were still the products of grazing. But the tremendous influx of immigrants (5,000,000 between 1865 and 1914) and the settlement of the pampas has caused grain to become the first ranking export. This is true in spite of the great pride and interest of every Argentinian in the nation's beef-cattle business. The change in first emphasis from grazing to soil cultivation has brought to an end a colorful period in Argentine history. The *gaucho*, colorful, hard-riding, and hardworking cowboy of the days of limitless unfenced plains, has gone the way of his American counterpart. His role is generally taken over by less colorful, but no less hardworking, hired cattle hands.

When we think of farming in Argentina, it is only right that we think first of the pampas, for from the pampas comes the bulk of Argentina's natural wealth—wheat, corn, beef, and other crops. The pampas are a level, grassy plain about a quarter of a million square miles in area. Think of it, an area practically the size of the state of Texas, made

¹John W. White, *Argentina*. The Viking Press, New York, 1942.

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up of rich black soil! The soil has no rocks or gravel to impede the progress of the plow—or with which to build roads. Many highways are 120-foot-wide strips of pampa sod. When one rut gets too deep, another is cut. The cost of building a system of surfaced roads where all building material must be imported is prohibitive.

Archibald MacLeish described the pampas thus in *Fortune* for July, 1938: "It is a country in which the distances from house to house are too great for the barking of dogs even on the stillest night, a country in which the cocks crow only twice because there is no answer. It is a country so level that even time has no hold upon it and one century is like another; a country so empty that the watchers at night put their eyes along the ground to see the circle of horizon; a country in which the sky is so huge that men plant islands of eucalyptus over their houses to be covered from the blue; a country in which the space is so great that all the visions end in eternity. It is the country of grass, the country without stones, the country peopled with sheep, the country silent under cattle, the country in which the green goes on and on like water, and the gulls follow the plows as sea gulls follow ships—the country in which the women are always together under the dark trees in the evenings, their faces fading into loneliness with the night."¹

About half the area of the pampas is under cultivation. The owners of the estates usually specialize either in the raising of cereal crops or in beef cattle. However, it is important to note that increasingly the farmer of the pampas is indulging in

"double-barreled" production, so that the grain farmer will raise some beef, and the cattle rancher will at least grow part of the grain and alfalfa needed for his stock.

Almost everyone has heard of Argentina's wheat and beef. But did you know that Argentina is the world's leading exporter of corn? In fact, it exports about ten times as much as does the United States, although the latter produces much more in total. The corn belt of the Argentine occupies the most fertile section of the pampas, to the northwest of Buenos Aires, along the Paraná River. The summer climate of this region is similar to that of our Middle West; the winters are milder. Unlike the corn belt of the United States, where about half the farmers are owner-operators, most of the Argentine corn farmers are sharecroppers or tenant farmers. Great holdings of thousands of acres are the common pattern, rather than the familiar 160- or 320-acre "home-place" of Iowa and Illinois.

The cattle industry of Argentina is its best-known source of wealth. From Argentina's interest in beef originates also its principal source of friction with the United States. Most of Argentina's cattle are raised on the pampas, although grazing is conducted in all provinces except the most southerly. Of all farm pursuits this is most completely dominated by the owners of the *estancias* (large estates). Since the days of the *gauchos*, most of the cattle ranges have been fenced. Modern Argentine livestock-producers are much interested in improvement of their stock. They are both proud of the excellence of their stock and interested in the profits of "chilled" beef, which is processed from only

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first-grade stock. The livestock shows of the capital are social events of the first magnitude, at which government officials, society leaders, and wealthy landlords appear in their finest attire. The perfect specimens of livestock there exhibited seem to be symbols of the wealth and prosperity of Argentina. No expense is spared to improve the stock; thousands of purebred cattle are imported from England and the United States annually for breeding purposes. As much as \$35,000 may be paid for the grand champion bull at one of the famous livestock shows. The favorite breeds are the well-known Short-horn and Hereford types.

Near Buenos Aires the dairy industry has become important. This is of course due to the demand furnished by the metropolitan area. The favorite breed here has been the Holstein, though the Jersey has found some favor.

Advantages to the cattle industry lie in the almost unlimited pasturage, the abundance of alfalfa, the mild year-round grazing climate, the convenience of export shipping, and the *estancia* setup for mass production. On the other hand, there are disadvantages in the uncertainty of foreign trade and the diseases of livestock which sometimes plague the cattleman's existence. Tick-carried disease, anthrax, and foot-and-mouth disease are dangerous. Tuberculosis affects cattle, but is subject to almost complete control if scientific vigilance is maintained.

The foot-and-mouth disease is an element in the trouble between Argentina and the United States. Argentina is proud of its excellent beef and jealous of its reputation.

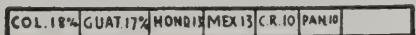
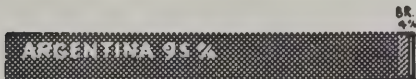
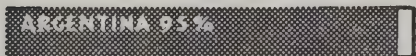
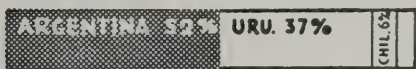
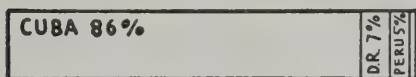
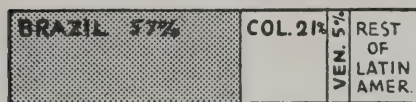
Naturally, Argentinians would like America to import more of its beef. Just as naturally, American cattle-raisers object to the competition of Argentine beef in American markets. Also, because foot-and-mouth disease runs rampant through American herds once it is started, the fact that Argentine cattle sometimes have this ailment is used as a talking point by American producers against Argentine beef. Argentinians are inclined to look on this as an excuse rather than as a good reason. The disease lurks in the bone marrow, not in the meat; it is not spread by canned meat products. At any rate, Argentina feels strongly that we are not nearly as good customers for her beef as we should be. It will be observed that the similarity of Argentina's products with those of our own West has a good deal to do with the difficulties in our diplomatic relations. England is by far Argentina's best customer for food products.

Although Argentina is dependent on staple crops, it would be wrong to compare her dependence on these to that of the old South on cotton. It would be difficult to say that any single crop or commodity was "king" in the sense that "Cotton was king" in the plantation South or that "Coffee is king" in modern Brazil. In addition to its great staples Argentina displays a wide pattern of diversification into significant though less important agricultural enterprises.

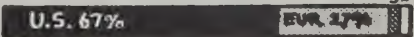
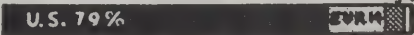
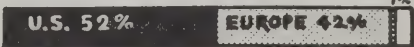
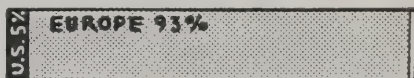
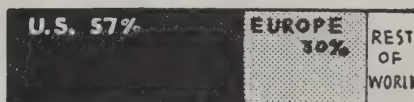
Along the Paraná River is the zone of the world's leading flax production. Argentina exports nine tenths of her crop, thus becoming the world's leading exporter. Argentine flax is grown for its seed, out of which is manufactured the linseed oil essential to paint

LATIN AMERICA'S CHIEF AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS

WHERE THEY COME FROM



WHERE THEY GO



COFFEE



MEATS



SUGAR



WOOL



COTTON



HIDES & SKINS



WHEAT



LINSEED



CORN



NUTS, WAXES, OILS



CEREALS



BANANAS



CACAO

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manufacture. Flax is hard on the soil, therefore much alfalfa is grown in this same region. Alfalfa, a legume, restores nitrogen to the soil, while many other crops rob the soil of this element. The pampas are by no means the only important agricultural area of Argentina. In southern Argentina is the wind-swept, semiarid plateau of Patagonia, comprising the territories of Rio Negro, Chubut, and Santa Cruz. Although much more pasturage must be allowed here than in the pampas, one fourth of the sheep of Argentina are raised here. In western Argentina, chiefly in the provinces of Mendoza and San Juan, vineyards and the wine industry are important. In northern Argentina sugar, cotton, tobacco, citrus fruits, and yerba maté are grown.

Concerning Argentina's agriculture we may make these general conclusions:

1. By far the greatest source of Argentina's wealth is its soil.
2. The soil could support millions more people and still produce large exportable surpluses.
3. Crops have replaced pastoral products as the first in value among exports.
4. Most production is carried on by the large estates, or *estancias*.
5. Wheat, beef, and sheep do not tell the whole story of Argentina's agriculture; many other crops have great value and importance.
6. Argentina would like the United States better if we were better buyers of its exports.

In both Brazil and Colombia coffee is the leading commercial crop, and both nations sell the greatest part of their coffee crop to the United States. In Brazil most of the coffee-growing is done in the states of São

Paulo and Minas Geraes. The coffee belt of Brazil is well adapted to such a crop for several reasons: the red soil, known as *terra roxa*, rich in iron and potash, has been found to be ideal for the coffee tree; the climate, which provides a hot, wet growing season and a cooler, dry harvest season, is also well suited to the needs of production.

Colombia and Brazil differ in their manner of producing coffee. In Colombia most of the coffee is grown by thousands of small farmers, who produce usually less than fifty bags of coffee annually. There are, of course, a few big plantations, but the bulk of production is carried on by the small independent raiser. Brazil's production, on the contrary, is principally carried out on the large estates, known as *fazendas*. One of these *fazendas* consists of 30,000 acres, growing over 5,000,000 trees; and employs 5000 people. However, the *fazendas* of Brazil are generally smaller in size than the great *estancias* of Argentina.

The coffee tree begins to produce berries in about its fifth or sixth year and may bear fruit for about a third of a century. Eventually, however, the production runs out, because coffee trees exhaust even the rich *terra roxa* in time. During the seasons of growth the trees are constantly cultivated and frequently are fertilized. In Brazil the picking of coffee, which requires a great deal of hand labor, usually begins in May. The racial pattern of the country may be well observed during the coffee harvest. On a single *fazenda* there may be seen at work together Portuguese, Indians, mestizos, Negroes, and Japanese laborers. The poorer coffee berries are removed along with foreign sub-

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stances by means of washing tanks and canals. In the mill the pulp is removed, leaving the all-important seeds. The seeds then are spread on drying floors to dry and cure for from two to four weeks. After curing, the husk is removed and the coffee is sorted into bags.

Brazilian coffee is shipped almost exclusively through Santos, a port admirably equipped for its one specialty. Coffee ships are loaded here with minimum loss of time by the most efficient and well-organized methods. Coffee sent from Santos to America enters by way of New York or New Orleans; that sent from the Pacific ports of Colombia enters through San Francisco.

Like the American farmer, the Brazilian coffee-grower has been troubled by surplus production. Since scientific methods of production and a depressed world market were causing prices to drop seriously, the grower sought a method of crop limitation. His method was somewhat similar to the destruction of surplus crops in the United States under the early AAA. To reduce the surplus the Brazilians decided to burn a sufficient percentage annually to maintain a profitable price. Therefore Brazil imports quantities of kerosene with which to soak the coffee designed for destruction. Naturally, the lack of shipping space and the submarine menace due to the war have increased greatly the marketing problem for the Brazilian grower.

The cutting off of our supply of rubber from the Netherlands Indies served to remind us of the tragedy that befell the Brazilian rubber industry. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, nine tenths of the world's rubber supply came from Brazil. In the

vast tropical forests of the Amazon Valley, in an area as large as the United States east of the Mississippi River, grew many trees from which rubber could be obtained. During the period of Brazilian leadership these trees were tapped and the latex was collected by native Indians or other contract laborers. A great city grew up in interior Brazil as a result of the rubber boom. This was Manáos, which boasted many ornate public buildings and an opera house of note. Today Manáos is a sleepy town, far from prosperous; it is not to be called a "ghost city," for it still has a population of nearly 100,000, but it is fair to say that it is only a shadow of its former self.

Brazilian rubber lost the race for world markets to the British and Dutch Far Eastern producers. Two reasons were most important: first, plantation methods of production were more efficient and less costly than the gathering of latex from wild rubber trees; secondly, in the densely populated areas of the East Indies, Malaya, and Ceylon the problem of cheap and dependable labor was solved. The scattered Amazon tribes were not overinclined to industry or reliability, nor were they numerous enough to exploit the full possibilities of the region. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that the monopoly of the British and Dutch rubber interests not only led to rigid price controls but also contributed to a most embarrassing strategic situation. If 97 per cent of the world's rubber industry had not been concentrated in one relatively small area of the Far East, the Japanese conquest would not have affected our economy so severely.

Henry Ford, in 1927, bought an immense tract of land in the Amazon Valley, on which

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to attempt plantation-rubber production in Brazil. The results of the experiments at Fordlandia are of great importance both to Brazil and to the entire Western Hemisphere.

In domestic interest and foreign trade, coffee dominates the scene in Brazil. For most purposes one might say of Brazil "As coffee goes, so goes the nation." However, Brazil's present and potential production in other crops affords proof that it is not completely a one-crop nation. Although cotton-growing has not been developed to its full possibilities, it has become very important. Since Brazilian planters have practiced coffee production so extensively, they know much more about it than they do about cotton. However, with millions of acres available that are suitable for cotton-growing, with cheaper labor than the United States has, and with the possibility of postwar European markets, we may expect further increase in cotton production. At present it is produced chiefly for Brazil's principal native industry: the manufacture of cheap cotton cloth.

In northern Brazil, principally in the state of Pernambuco, sugar is the leading crop; but its importance to the nation does not compare with its significance in the national economy of Cuba or of Peru. Brazil's corn belt furnishes food both for people and for hogs. Corn, rice, beans, and mandioca are the principal food crops of the people. Mandioca, or cassava, is a source of starch; you are probably familiar with its commercial derivative known as tapioca. In the hinterland of Bahia is located Brazil's important cacao industry. Brazil ranks second in the production of this commodity. In addition,

Brazil raises significant amounts of yerba maté and tobacco.

In general, Brazilian agriculture may be summarized thus:

1. The coffee industry is by far its most important industry and is the most skillfully managed of any in Brazil.

2. The potential soil resources of Brazil are much greater than the extent to which they are now developed. Cotton, sugar, tobacco, fruits, and cacao could all be developed further, so far as well-suited soils and climates are concerned.

3. The principal obstacles to the development of agricultural resources, other than coffee, have been lack of capital and leadership, uncertainty of markets, and scarcity of intelligent, reliable labor.

Chile's wealth and fame have rested on its mineral wealth. Unlike Argentina, it has no great sources of agricultural wealth; yet it could raise enough food to support several times the present population of 5,000,000. Chile has as much farm land available as Japan, whose population is many times greater.

Except for sheep-raising in the southern part, all agriculture in Chile is found in the fertile Central Valley. The summer months here are warm but dry; and therefore, as in the valleys of central California, we find that irrigation is depended on to maintain the growing crops. As we have observed, most of Chilean agriculture is conducted on the large estates. The principal grain crop of Chile is wheat, which is consumed mainly in the home market. But oats, beans, barley, potatoes, corn, and peas are also grown, though none of these appear in export trade.



A. F. Sozio from Gendreau

Coffee Dominates the Scene in Brazil. Coffee-tasters Sample and Grade the Various Qualities



Ewing Galloway

Maté, the Tea of South America, Is Gathered on a Paraguayan Plantation

Beef Inspection at Buenos Aires

Black Star



Fruit-vender in Honduras

Herbert C. Lanks



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If Chile had a greater population for a domestic market, it would certainly possess a great fruit-growing industry. Even as it is, its fruit crop is excellent in variety and quality. It is difficult to think of any fruits that Chile cannot raise. It produces apples, pears, peaches, plums, apricots, cherries, and strawberries; in the subtropical climate citrus fruits, olives, and figs are also raised. Commercially, it is the grape that dominates Chilean markets. Two thirds of all Chilean land devoted to fruit-growing is in vineyards. Most of the grapes are made into wine, although there is a small raisin industry.

As for livestock, Chile raises less than enough meat products to supply its own people. Although the dairy industry is growing toward a point of self-sufficiency, some dairy products are still imported from Argentina.

In the main, we can say these things of Chilean agriculture:

1. That it is limited by the lack of a large market, by natural difficulties, and by the landowning system.

2. That although it is not a truly wealthy land agriculturally, it could support a larger population; for it is yet far from being fully exploited.

Peruvian agriculture is sharply divided between that of the coastal strip and that of the sierra. The agriculture of the coastal strip is commercial, specializing in cotton and sugar; the interior is a region of subsistence farming in general. Peru exports important quantities of sugar and cotton, both of which are grown on huge plantations under irrigation and with easy access to the sea. One

family, the Gildemeisters, produces two fifths of Peru's sugar crop. Peruvian cotton is of the long-fibered variety, a desirable feature. The small producer, the native Indian, raises corn and potatoes and beans for his own consumption. Wheat and flour are produced, but Peru has to import these and other foods.

Livestock-raising is not as well developed as it could be. Sheep are the most profitable of the animals raised. The Indian, however, measures his wealth in the llamas he possesses. Their wool is highly valued in domestic manufacture; moreover, the beast is an intelligent pack animal, so intelligent, indeed, that if he considers himself overloaded he merely lies down and waits until a suitable adjustment is made. Of the same family are the alpaca and vicuña, whose long-fibered wool has figured in Peru's export trade.

Uruguay is a land of much rich pasture land and of small population. Considering also its ready access to the ocean, these circumstances should add up to an important grazing industry. This is, of course, the case. Only about 7 per cent of Uruguay's soil is devoted to crop farming. Unlike Argentina, where grain farming has outstripped the grazing industry in value of exports, in Uruguay cattle and sheep ranching completely dominates the scene. Sheep-raising is very important. The wool export represents the most valuable single export annually. Cattle and beef products have been assuming greater importance, and the value of exports of hides and skins slightly exceeds that of beef food products.

The soil of Uruguay is good and the climate is suitable for much more extensive

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grain farming, but the pressure of population has never been strong enough to cause much increase. In fact, the Uruguayans do not raise all of their own food but import considerable amounts of cereals and vegetables.

No other word is quite so accurate as "backward" to describe Paraguay's agriculture. Naturally Paraguay is a fertile land that should give promise to agriculture, yet three handicaps beset it: the isolation of the nation, its lack of population (due in part to its disastrous wars), and the lack of capital to develop its resources. It seems strange, nonetheless, that this nation does not produce even its own food needs. Cotton and tobacco are the principal export crops; some oranges are shipped down river to Argentina and Uruguay, and cereal crops are grown by the Indians for subsistence. The cattle industry, especially where managed by Argentinian concerns, has made profits, and there is a trend toward developing this business further.

Bolivia's agriculture, because of its extreme isolation and the poverty of its soil, contributes nothing to its export trade. In the valleys east of the Andes, fertile valleys supply a few crops for local use. The Indians of the plateau, like those of the Peruvian mountains, practice farming only to supply their own needs. Potatoes and barley meal are important in their almost meatless diet. Here, as in Peru, the Indian cultivates and chews the leaves of the coca plant. This drug dulls his senses, perhaps making a hard life more endurable; certainly it does nothing to make his wits keener.

In Ecuador the story of agriculture is one of subsistence farming in the Andean high-

lands and of the tragedy of a lost monopoly in the coastal region. Once Ecuador was the world's leading producer of cacao. Increased world competition (especially from the west coast of Africa and from Brazil), overtaxation, and careless management have reduced its export of this crop strikingly. Ecuador's exports of other crops have little significance in world trade, although it ships some quantities of coffee, sugar, bananas, and rice.

Venezuela's people live largely by agriculture; the government and nation live on oil. Always, in dealing with Venezuela, we come back to the significance of petroleum in the national economy. Its effect on agriculture has probably been bad, for interest in petroleum has seemed to lead to the neglect of the soil. However, Venezuela does export coffee, cacao, tobacco, sugar, and cotton; and south of the mountain highlands are vast inland treeless plains known as the *llanos*, which, though relatively undeveloped, do support a considerable cattle industry.

In general, Venezuela would probably be better off if she had a more widely developed and prosperous agricultural basis for her national wealth. The principal obstacles to such development seem to be these:

1. The fact that most men of wealth and leadership take more interest in the relatively easy profits of the oil industry.
2. The lack of easy access to the great plains of the interior.
3. The scarcity of skilled, dependable agricultural labor.

The Guianas in the main are of relatively little importance in the economy of Latin America. They are remaining landmarks of

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the mercantilistic colonial policies of the seventeenth century, conspicuously out of joint with the twentieth century. Neglected by the country of ownership, and exploited only for a few ready sources of wealth, they are poor exhibits to show the advantages of the colonial policies of the British, Dutch, and French.

The British and Dutch colonies, however, at least raise a little sugar, cacao, tobacco, and cotton for trade; France's policy in regard to its Guiana colony is an affront to the entire Western Hemisphere. As you probably know, France utilizes it as a penal colony for the worst criminals. It is far enough away so that the wretched system has gone unnoticed at home. European nations have little to be proud of in their Guiana colonies.

Cuba and Puerto Rico have an ideal climate for growing sugar cane; and although they raise the usual variety of tropical crops, this one is dominant. The Dominican Republic also specializes in the export of sugar. Its neighbor, Haiti, however, raises coffee as its leading export. The Virgin Islands export bay rum.

It is clear that South American agriculture tends to be specialized in certain significant regions, most important of which are the fertile pampas of Argentina and the highlands of Brazil. Commonly the commercial agriculture of Latin America is dominated by the owners of the great estates; the majority of the people either work for the landlords or till the soil for their own subsistence.

The bulk of Latin-American developed wealth is its agriculture, yet it is fair to say that as yet its use of the soil is far from its maximum possibilities. Apparently lack of population and undeveloped transportation are considerable handicaps in many areas.

In general the United States is a good customer for the goods it does not produce itself. Therefore we buy principally the coffee of Brazil and Colombia, the sugar of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Peru, and the cacao of Brazil, Ecuador, and Venezuela. Usually these trade relations make diplomatic ties closer. For the livestock products and cereals of the pampas we offer a very limited demand. Indeed, we are in competition with much of Argentina's production, a fact which does not make any easier our relations with that nation.

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Mining, Manufacture, and Transportation

Mineral Resources

FROM THE DAYS when the *conquistadores* sought—and found—the fabulous riches of the Aztecs and Incas to the present, much of Latin America's wealth has been measured in its mineral resources. To the gold, silver, and copper carried in the treasure ships of imperial Spain, modern times have added the development of other minerals: nitrates, manganese, tin, vanadium, tungsten, antimony, platinum, and, above all, petroleum.

In northern Chile, in deserts which extend from the coastal cliffs to the Andes, are found the wealthy nitrate and copper deposits. A good part of this mineral wealth is located in the territories of Tacna and Arica, contested in the War of the Pacific, and was formerly exploited by Bolivia, Peru, and Chile. Today Chile ranks second in the world production of copper, being outstripped in this respect only by the United States. It produces about 18 per cent of the world's supply of the metal. About one sixth of all American capital in Latin America is invested in the coppermines of Chile and Peru. In 1940 copper ranked third in value among the Latin-American exports to the United States.

The nitrate industry of Chile has had frequent and, recently, disastrous ups and downs. These deposits, important in the manufacture of both fertilizers and explosives, constitute almost all the world's supply of natural nitrates. Hence the discovery

by German chemists of the famous Haber process of synthetic nitrate production was almost ruinous to the Chilean monopoly. Since the government of Chile long depended on the nitrate monopoly as a principal source of state revenue, the depression in this market produced great stress in Chilean politics. By encouraging efforts to create a more balanced economy for the nation, however, the loss of the nitrate markets may work eventually for the economic progress of Chile.

Ranking only below copper in value among minerals as an export commodity is petroleum. Venezuela, Mexico, Peru, Colombia, and Trinidad are the leading producers in Latin America. Venezuela is the world's leading petroleum exporter, and ranks third after the United States and Soviet Russia in total production. As John Gunther says of Venezuelan oil: "It really does lie on the waters. Touch Venezuela on its soft crust, dent it anywhere near the sea, oil jets out. In the Maracaibo basin, the richest oil deposit known to man, the derricks rise from the yellow waters of the lake; here oil and water do mix."¹ Since most of the petroleum has been developed by American and British capital, the Venezuelan government lives on the revenues of its royalties and taxes. This national dependence on one commodity is by no means entirely wholesome; for, as Gunther further comments, "Meantime the de-

¹John Gunther, *Inside Latin America*, pp. 178-179. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1941.

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cline of agriculture proceeds. The country must import such staples as beans, potatoes, and even rice. The Andinos, who depend mostly on coffee, need subsidies to live; the *Llaneros* (plainsmen) have neglected what should be their prime industry, cattle. Oil has greased the chute. Yet the bulk of the people suffer definitely from malnutrition; some are almost literally starving. There is oil, yes. But you can't eat oil, or even drink it."¹

Mexican production of crude petroleum ranked fifth in the world in 1940. The present production is only about one fourth of that of the great boom period of 1920 and 1921. Most of the Mexican oil fields are found in the lowlands of the Gulf Coast, and most of the refineries are located on that coast.

Next to coffee, petroleum is the leading export commodity of Colombia. About one fifth of the value of its export trade is in oil. Most of the oil is produced in the Magdalena Valley. As in Peru, most of the capital is American. The Peruvian oil exports once led the South American field. Now, however, Peru ranks behind Venezuela and Colombia. Its oil is easily accessible, since most of the wells lie directly along the shore, and it is of high quality. It is found in three separate fields in the northwestern part of the nation, near the Ecuadorian frontier.

Argentina, also, produces significant amounts of petroleum. As yet, however, it does not produce enough to supply the domestic demands. It appears that this, the single important item of Argentina's mineral store, will be increasingly developed in the

future. Bolivia, too, possesses petroleum deposits, mostly undeveloped.

It is as a producer of tin that Bolivia is chiefly famous. Since our enemy, Japan, temporarily controls the Malay peninsula, the deposits of Bolivia are of increased importance. Bolivian tin has been developed principally by a multimillionaire Indian, Simón Patino. The "tin king," who also owned large shares in the Malay properties, spends most of his time outside Bolivia and contributes little to the welfare of that nation. Formerly silver mines exclusively were worked, near Potosí, Bolivia. However, railroad transportation opened the way for the development of the more bulky tin ores. Even today, however, over one half of the cost of the Bolivian tin laid down at American or European smelters is due to the short but expensive railway haul to the Pacific Coast.

In addition to the principal mineral resources of Latin America—copper, petroleum, nitrates, tin, and silver—there are a number of other significant mineral resources. Chile and California together produce practically all of the world's borax. Most of the world's bismuth comes from a single concern located in Bolivia. Bismuth is used in alloys, with lead and tin, which are utilized in the manufacture of fuses because of their low melting temperatures. Peru produces about one third of the world's supply of vanadium from deposits that are the richest known. Vanadium is indispensable in the manufacture of certain high-grade steel alloys. Colombia produces considerable platinum and also the world's largest supply of emeralds. Gold, once the most prized of all New World minerals, has become rela-

¹Ibid. p. 180.

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tively unimportant, although there are still profitable workings in Peru, Venezuela, Brazil, Colombia, and British Guiana. Brazil produces large numbers of industrial diamonds and semiprecious stones. British Guiana exports bauxite, the ore used in aluminum manufacture, to the United States.

Foreign Capital

IT IS EVIDENT that foreign capital plays an important part in the development or exploitation of the mineral wealth of Latin America. This has led to considerable controversy both within Latin America and with the nations that serve as sources of capital. Those who defend expansion of foreign capital in Latin America contend principally that

1. The mineral resources of Latin America would otherwise not have been developed, because of lack of local initiative, experience, and funds for investment.
2. The nations benefit from the exploitation through increased payrolls, royalties, and taxation revenues.
3. The raw materials enter into world trade in exchange for manufactured goods, which lead to a higher standard of living.

On the other hand, many citizens and political groups in Latin America resent the influence of foreign capital on these grounds:

1. That most of the profits from the resources leave the continent and do not contribute to the social and economic welfare of the nation in whose territory they are produced.
2. That development by outside powers puts Latin America in the status of a "back-

ward area," similar to the status of colonies under the mercantilist system.

3. That each nation in Latin America has a right to develop its own resources and its own economy without outside control and interference.

The outcome of this controversy is uncertain. Some nations, like Venezuela, seem to desire to see "the goose that lays the golden eggs"—in this case, foreign-owned oil concessions—continue to prosper. Elsewhere there seems to be a definite trend toward more jealous local control over resources. Mexico has gone farthest with "expropriation" of foreign concessions. Bolivia has followed a more moderate course in curtailing the rights of concession. Thus far three courses of action have been followed in various Latin-American countries:

1. Actual expropriation or confiscation of foreign-owned developments.
2. Restricted grants or concessions to foreign enterprise under strict license and regulation.
3. Complete *laissez-faire*, with a share in the profits through royalties and taxation.

Industrial Iron and Coal Situation

IN SPITE of its great mineral wealth, Latin America lacks iron and coal as a basis for industrialization on a large scale. In general, although the continent possesses considerable deposits of both minerals, the coal is of inferior quality, unsuited to the needs of the iron and steel industry; and the minerals are seldom found near enough together to avoid almost insurmountable transportation difficulties. To be specific, let us survey the Latin-

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American situation in regard to these all-important minerals.

Chile mines about two thirds of Latin America's coal output. Most of Chile's coal is used domestically by the state railways, manufacturing establishments, the national merchant marine, and the gas, electric, and nitrate industries. Chile possesses iron, but its coal is unsuited to metallurgical uses. Iron production on a small scale by the use of wood or electric furnaces has been attempted.

Brazil possesses coal, mostly lignitic or bituminous, although it imported in 1938 about two thirds of its coal needs. Brazil is also rich in iron, including great undeveloped areas. Minas Geraes is the leading state in iron production. Yet in spite of its great resources in iron ore, in 1937 Brazil produced only 245,000 tons of iron and steel. The small output is due principally to the poor quality of native coal, the lack of competent labor, and the limited demand and transportation facilities.

Argentina, which possesses some coal of poor quality, has no iron deposits of economic importance and is therefore turning to petroleum and water power as sources of energy. Interestingly enough, there is an Argentinian iron-manufacturing development which utilizes scrap iron and imported pig iron for manufacturing a variety of iron and steel products.

Colombia, which is handicapped by terrific transportation obstacles, is almost alone in having coal, limestone, and iron in close proximity. It produces enough coal for domestic needs; but the best customers of the coal

mines—the railroads—find that transportation of coal is so expensive that they are experimenting with wood and petroleum fuels.

Mexico, the West Indies, Central America, Paraguay, Uruguay, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, and Venezuela possess insignificant amounts of iron and coal. In general these countries lack either one or the other of these minerals, or the quality is inferior, or the cost and difficulty of development is prohibitive. It is evident, therefore, that Latin America's resources in iron and coal for industrial purposes are strictly limited and in general are of a distinctly local character.

Industrial Development

COMPARED to agriculture and mining, manufacture is of secondary importance in Latin America. There are no Pittsburghs, no Birminghams, no Detroit, south of the Rio Grande. The greatest metropolis of South America, Buenos Aires, owes its importance not to roaring foundries and smoking chimneys but to the tremendous wealth of its hinterland and to its position in domestic and world trade.

There are a number of good reasons for Latin America's having been slow in turning toward industrial development.

1. *The scarcity of iron and coal* has been already surveyed. This handicap may be partly overcome by the use of imported pig iron and scrap metal. The development of hydroelectric power is also a factor to consider here.

2. *The lack of capital* has also been a deterrent factor. Foreign investors have more frequently sought to exploit the raw resources

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of Latin America than to finance industrial development that might become competitive.

3. *Latin America's preponderance of agricultural interests* deserves attention also. This helps to explain the lack of capital for industrial development. The men of wealth in Latin America are the *hacendados*, the owners of great plantations or ranches. Since there are fortunes to be made in cattle, wheat, sheep, cotton, sugar, and coffee, and since these are enterprises which they know and understand, why—they reason—risk failure in the uncertainties of industrial manufacture?

4. *The poverty of the people and the limited home market* also hold back the establishment of manufactures. The Chilean *rotos*, the Indians of Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay, the poor farm workers of Argentina and Brazil, are not educated to a desire for radios, alarm clocks, egg-beaters, and the thousand and one other gadgets of an industrial civilization. Moreover, at their present wage scales, they would have no purchasing power to satisfy such desires—and desire without purchasing power does not constitute economic demand. Therefore it is clear that manufacturing in Latin America must for the present look to a limited middle class and a small but wealthy upper class for its principal market.

5. Finally, *the difficulty of transportation*, which we shall survey later in this chapter, constitutes a serious handicap to industrial progress.

Yet, despite the foregoing statements, there is a growing trend toward industrialization in certain parts of Latin America. The First World War forced Latin America to

produce some goods that it had formerly imported. The depression, which sharply reduced its exports, thus cutting down its foreign exchange, also contributed to the trend toward domestic self-sufficiency. Higher tariffs have in some cases been legislated to protect "infant industries." Most of these manufactures have been devoted to satisfying local consumer demand.

Argentina is Latin America's leading manufacturer. In Argentina industrialization has become a political issue. The influential owners of ranches and plantations are generally opposed to industrialization. They object to its attendant import duties, which raise the prices of manufactured goods. Since they produce raw materials, mostly food products, they wish to purchase their farm equipment, automobiles, and home furnishings in a duty-free market. They also oppose industrialization through fear of the loss of political influence in national affairs. In spite of this opposition, in 1939 there were in Argentina 664,000 workers employed in industry, as compared to 1,050,000 in agriculture and ranching.¹ The principal cities engaged in manufacture to a marked extent are Buenos Aires, Rosario, Paraná, Sante Fé, and La Plata.

Meat-packing is of course Argentina's principal industry. Argentina produces over three fourths of the world's supply of "chilled" beef. Chilled beef is refrigerated at just two or three degrees below the spoilage point, therefore retaining, it is said, more of its original succulence and flavor than frozen beef. American, British, and Argen-

¹Foreign Policy Association, *Look at Latin America*, p. 20.

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tine capital dominates the meat-packing field. Along the River Plata an American tourist sees the familiar names of Swift, Armour, and Wilson. Armour has three plants in Argentina, Swift has four, and Wilson one.¹ In 1937 alone the value of Argentinian beef exports was placed at \$104,000,000.

The textile industry of Argentina operates largely on domestic capital. This native industry supplies a large part of Argentina's textile demands—woolen, linen, cotton, and silk. Over 80,000 people are employed in it. Nor is it strange that Argentina, the great wheat-producer, should have a considerable flour-milling industry. In 1936 there were 194 mills, which produced 1,944,000 tons of flour.² An Argentinian corporation, Bunge and Born, has the largest investment in both the flour-milling and domestic-textile industries.

Three fourths of the world's supply of quebracho extract, which is used in tanning, is produced in Argentina. There is also an important tobacco industry. The cement manufactures have become almost sufficient to fill the nation's needs. There is a growing paper and pulp-making industry, and a matchmaking concern which supplies over 80 per cent of Argentina's demands. The manufacture of rubber tires and other rubber goods has grown until it supplies most of the domestic needs. Prominent in this field are the familiar names of Goodyear and Firestone. Also manufactured in Argentina are shoes (of which few are imported), glass, chemicals, soaps, paints, and furniture. There are assembly plants for foreign automobiles

(Ford and General Motors, for example), radios, electrical equipment, and some types of machinery.

Uruguay has, especially in Montevideo, a diversified pattern of industries similar to those of Argentina.

Brazil had little manufacturing prior to the First World War. There are four principal factors accounting for Brazil's industrial growth:

1. The cutting off of imports by the First World War.
2. The water-power resources of eastern Brazil.
3. The high protective tariff.
4. The depreciation of the Brazilian currency to one fourth of its par value. (This of course greatly reduced its purchasing power in foreign markets.)

The principal centers of manufacture in Brazil are São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Santos, and Niteroy. Since Brazil's products are protected by a high tariff, consumers sometimes feel that the cost of living is raised in favor of a small fraction of the total population. The Brazilian articles of manufacture are principally foodstuffs, textiles, clothing, clay products, cement, chemicals, paper, rubber goods (including tires), construction material, and glassware. It will be observed that in both Argentina and Brazil there is little evidence of entry into the heavy industries: iron and steel milling, automobile manufacture, the building of railway rolling stock, etc.

Chile, a nation of rich resources and small population, produces most of its manufactures in small establishments, where about one fourth of the labor supply is employed.

¹*Fortune*, July, 1938, p. 120.

²*Ibid.* p. 122.

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Chile possesses resources on which to build a reasonably self-sufficing industrial system and already exports a few commodities, such as shoes and textiles, to Peru and Bolivia. Chilean industry is centered in the cities of Santiago, Valparaíso, and Concepción. Besides shoes, textiles, and foodstuffs, Chile produces cement, chemicals, glass, leather, and wines.

In Peru most of the manufacturing is designed to finish, or partly finish, native raw materials. Textiles, flour, rice, cocaine, tobacco, liquors, soaps, and leather are processed or manufactured principally for the limited home market.

In Colombia, the cities of Medellín and Bogotá boast industries worthy of mention. Medellín has over fifty factories that produce textiles, ironware, shoes, ice, soap, candy, and other items. Bogotá produces similar goods for local consumption.

Domestic Manufacture

It has been observed that in lands where there is a limited middle class and a large poor group there is frequently a good deal of subsistence agriculture. Often accompanying this is a considerable amount of domestic manufacture. In Latin America a noteworthy amount of handicraft goods is produced by domestic manufacture. Much of this is utilized in the homes of the Indian or mestizo craftsmen; some finds its way into trade by way of local markets or sale to tourists. There are probably three chief reasons for the existence of this form of manufacture in countries like Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia:

1. These skills represent a legacy from the past. The crafts were developed perhaps as early as Mayan times, at least during the Aztec and Inca eras. They have been kept alive by the simplest of educational systems, that of observation and practice within the home from generation to generation.

2. In the second place, these skills give the poverty-stricken and culturally deprived common worker the satisfaction that comes from personal achievement in the performance of some creative task. It is said that man possesses an instinct for workmanship. If so, this instinct is partly responsible for the native crafts of Latin America.

3. Moreover these crafts fulfill two important economic functions. They supply needs of the family and they furnish something to be traded in the markets or sold for a small amount of badly needed cash.

The Indians of the Peruvian mountains weave clothing and make brightly colored hats for their own use. Rough sandals made of sections of old automobile tires strapped to the foot with leather thongs are a cruder form of handicraft to supply a very essential need. In Mexico the basket-weavers, the pottery-makers, and the serape-weavers all demonstrate skills admired by the artistically minded and profitable in dealing with the tourist trade. Interestingly enough, in Ecuador an item of household manufacture constitutes the sole item of manufactured export. This is the "Panama hat" industry. These hats are made from straws from the plant known as the jipijapa. Both sexes work at the trade, but it is said that the women and girls make the finest hats. The trade in genuine "Panama hats" has been suffering in recent years from competition with factory-

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made straw hats manufactured by mass-production methods.

In summary we may make these observations in regard to the status of industrialization in Latin America:

1. Certain nations, notably Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico, have been able to make themselves nearly self-sufficient in regard to a number of consumer items.

2. Because of a general lack of iron and coal, the "heavy industries" have made little headway.

3. Despite progress in manufacture, it would still be very inaccurate for us to think of Latin America as highly industrialized. For example, a year's output of industry in all Brazil is valued at much less than the output of one American city like Detroit or Pittsburgh.

Transportation

ONE of the principal obstacles to closer unity within Latin America and to the development of its manufactures has been the inadequate transportation facilities of the continent. Until recent years the story of modern transportation in Latin America was the story of rivers and railroads. The future seems sure to bring the highways and particularly the "skyways" into increasing prominence.

RAILROADS

Railroad development in Latin America has been retarded by four things in particular:

1. The natural barriers to construction.

2. The backwardness of certain interior areas, which provide little business for railroads.

3. The lack of capital within the countries.

4. The lack of fuel, and of construction and roadbed materials.

Argentina leads in railroad mileage, with over 25,000 miles of track, of which over one half is broad-gauge (5 feet 6 inches). (Latin America's railroad system is confused in two respects: there are several gauges used extensively, so that rolling stock cannot transfer from line to line; and there are numerous lines isolated from one another, with no connecting links.) These railroads have been financed largely by British capital. From Britain, too, comes most of the coal used by Argentine railroads. Since the importation of fuel is expensive, many of the Argentine lines have turned to the use of native Argentine fuel oil.

Of the Latin-American countries only Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and southern Brazil possess what may rightly be called railway systems. In these four areas the lines are largely interconnected (though often of various gauges), serve their areas fairly thoroughly, and operate on reasonably well-established schedules. The railroads of northern Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Peru are for the most part isolated from one another. Ecuador has only 700 miles of railways; Venezuela, only 600; while Colombia has 1800 miles, of three different gauges. Most of these lines penetrate from the coast inland to some point of importance for commercial or mineral resources.

The Andean railroads rank among the world's most remarkable feats of engineering. While American railroads cross the great continental ranges in passes from 3000 to 8000 feet above sea level, the Andean routes

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reach altitudes of 10,000 to 15,665 feet. Think of a railroad operating three miles above sea level! On some of these lines the conductors actually have oxygen tanks for passengers who succumb to the rarefied atmosphere. Best-known of South American lines in the trans-Andean line linking Chile and Argentina. This route, which cost over \$300,000 per mile to construct, operates at a loss. The fare between Buenos Aires and Santiago is \$100, or about 10 cents per mile. A small section of the trans-Andean railway was washed away by floods some years ago and travelers must now go by bus from Mendoza to the western end of the washed-out section.

The railway mileage of Brazil is less than one tenth that of the United States, which is approximately its equal in area. In fact, Brazil has fewer miles of railroad than Argentina. The best railways are found in the "coffee belt," which has the most profitable railroad in South America. This is the São Paulo line owned by British interests. This double-tracked line running from São Paulo to Santos, 86 miles away, transports over 50 per cent of the world's supply of coffee.

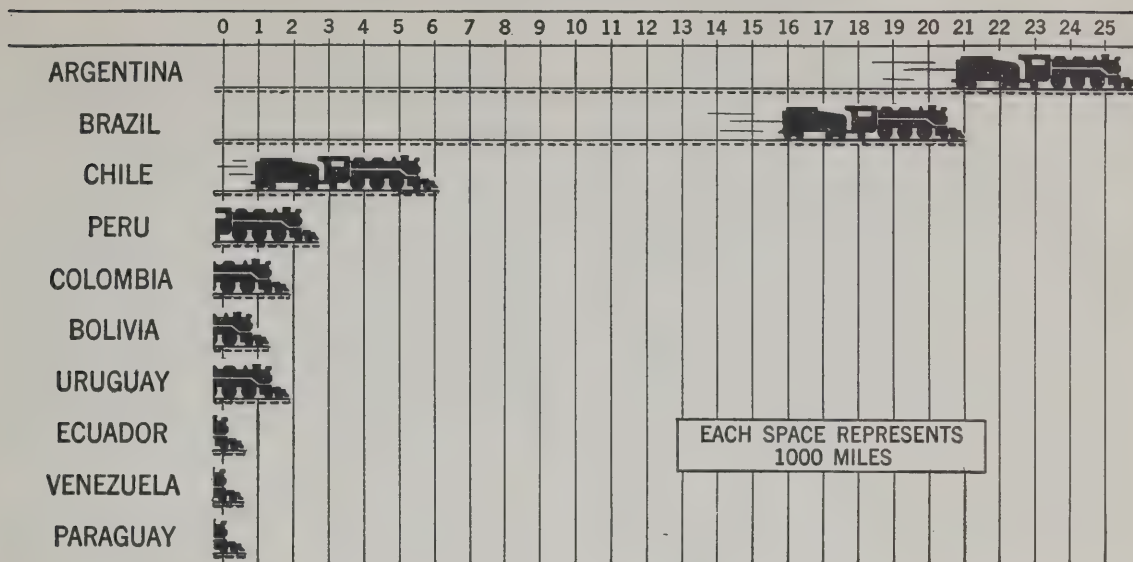
WATERWAYS

Despite offering great obstacles to transportation, nature also endowed Latin America with a few ready-made highways to the remote interior. These are her great navigable rivers, all of which lie along either the Atlantic or the Caribbean coast of South America. The narrow coastal plain of the Pacific possesses no rivers of consequence for navigation. The most significant of river highways are the Magdalena of Colombia, the Orinoco system, the Amazon system, and the La Plata-Paraná-Paraguay system.

The Magdalena River is not an easy water route and is important only because it makes interior Colombia accessible to some degree. Ocean-going vessels cannot unload at its shallow mouth; it is frequently unnavigable during the dry season; railroads must be utilized to transport cargo around its shoals and rapids.

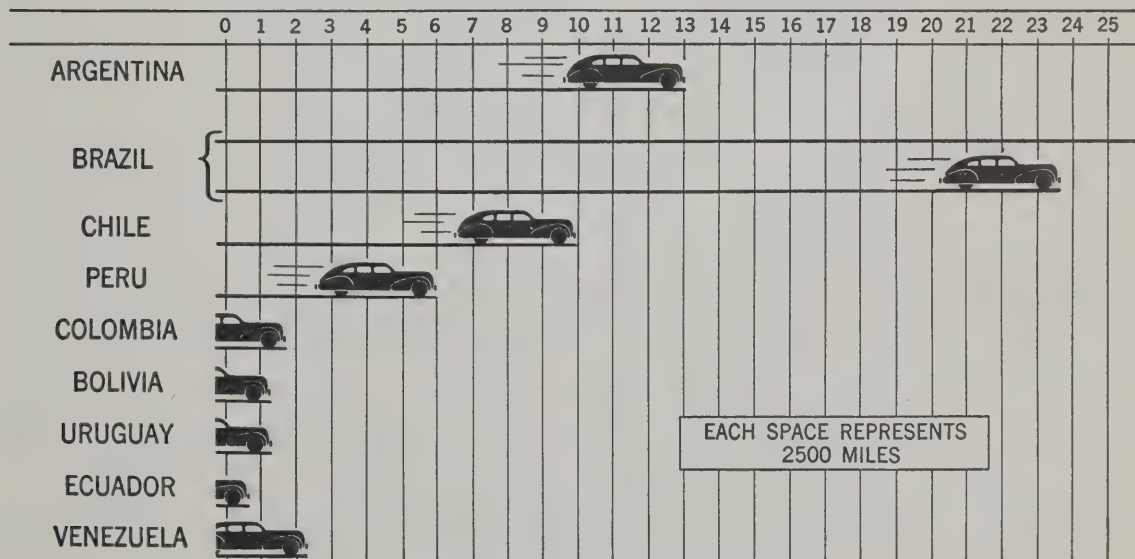
Ample evidence of the difficulties that attend transportation by way of the Magdalena route is shown by this illustration: "Let us assume that a consignment of hardware is shipped from New York to Bogotá. The goods (1) are unloaded from the ocean at Puerto Colombia, and later are (2) loaded upon a freight car and taken 17 miles to the river dock in Barranquilla and there (3) unloaded. In the course of time, the goods are (4) placed on board a river steamer; if this does not run aground on one of the many sand bars, it will eventually reach the lower end of the rapids at La Dorada. Here, the freight must again be (5) unloaded and (6) transferred to a railway which hauls it around the rapids, where it must be (7) taken from the train and (8) loaded upon a smaller river steamer. After a slow journey up the river, the freight is (9) unloaded from the river boat at Girardot and (10) loaded on the train that starts it toward Bogotá. About halfway to that city, the gauge of the railway changes, and all freight is again (11) unloaded and (12) reloaded upon another train which finally (13) delivers it in Bogotá. Thus, after the consignment reached the ocean port in Colombia, it had been six times loaded and seven times unloaded—thirteen times in all—in going a distance of 800 miles. If the goods are of average value, the cost is doubled, for the freight and handling charges

Railroad Mileage in South America



COMPARE THESE MILEAGES WITH THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES, WHICH HAS 235,000 MILES OF RAILROADS AND 1,200,000 MILES OF FEDERAL AND STATE HIGHWAYS

Road Mileage in South America (main highways only)



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are about equal to the invoice value of the goods, probably around \$75 a ton, which is several times the cost of ocean transportation from New York. Goods may be 4 to 6 months in transit between Bogotá and the sea, although the trip may be made in 3 weeks. It costs \$70 a ton to send a ton of wheat from Bogotá to the coast and \$60 to send a ton of coffee. This is ten times the all-rail rate on wheat from Chicago to New York, about the same distance. Under the very best conditions, passengers from the coast may reach Bogotá in 7½ days."¹

The Orinoco River, navigable by large river vessels for about 1500 miles, is unimportant compared to the Amazon and La Plata systems. Although its hinterland, the *llanos* of interior Venezuela, is potentially wealthy, it is relatively undeveloped.

The Amazon system is one of the most amazing systems of navigable rivers in the world. Says one geographer, "The Amazon is really a labyrinth of rivers. Someone has compared it with a vast inland sea emptying itself into another sea by flowing around a multitude of low-lying islands."² Because of the ease of navigation on these waterways and the obstacles to land travel in the rank tropical forests, railroad construction to interior Brazil has been negligible. Ocean-going ships easily navigate the seven hundred miles to Manáos, at which point the channel is still 200 feet deep. Smaller ocean freighters even ascend to Iquitos, Peru, nearly 2000

miles from the Atlantic.¹ On occasion, cargoes from Pacific ports of Peru have traveled around South America by way of the Panama Canal and up the Amazon to Iquitos, rather than use the much shorter but terribly arduous overland route to the back country. The excellence of the Amazon as a navigable river is emphasized by comparing its channel to that of the Mississippi-Ohio system. While the United States spends millions of dollars to maintain a 9-foot channel for river boats, the Amazon has a natural channel 50 feet deep as far inland as Iquitos.

The Plata system, which serves Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay well, is composed of the Plata, the Paraná, the Paraguay, and the Uruguay rivers. Rosario in Argentina, although 400 miles from the ocean, is an important seaport accommodating vessels of 26-foot draft. Without this system the interior state of Paraguay would be almost inaccessible to trade. Freight charges are expensive and it is said to cost more to ship goods 1000 miles from the interior to the ocean on this system than to ship them 7000 miles to Europe by ocean vessel.² Yet despite the costs, the great products of export trade flow ceaselessly along this route. Toward the sea it carries the cattle, hogs, wheat, tobacco, hides, oranges, lumber, and yerba maté that constitute the wealth of its hinterland. Along the great estuary known as the Rio de la Plata lie two of the great metropolitan areas of Latin America—Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

In the more inaccessible regions of Latin America, away from the railroads and the

¹R. H. Whitbeck and Frank E. Williams, *Economic Geography of South America*, pp. 40–41. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1940.

²Fred A. Carlson, *Geography of Latin America*, p. 278. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1941.

¹Ibid. p. 280.

²Whitbeck and Williams, *Economic Geography*, pp. 234–235.

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highways, the age-old trails and pack animals still hold sway. In many parts of Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, the Guianas, and Mexico these are still the principal modes of travel. Down from the highlands of Peru the Indians bring their produce, along tortuous mountain trails. Their goods loaded on their llamas, "the camels of the Andes," they proceed through precipitous and hazardous turns and passes, across dangling suspension bridges that sway precariously underfoot; traveling routes established perhaps by the Incas centuries before, and in the manner of their grandparents and their grandparents' grandparents before them. So, too, may the traveler along the Pan-American Highway to Mexico City observe the mestizo plodding along this modern artery of travel behind his sometimes patient burro in the mode of bygone eras. And let this tourist but take himself away from the highway to towns in the back-country hills, and he will find the natives coming thus to the market or to the *fiesta*, as the case may be, by way of a dozen trails, none of them accessible to the motor-powered vehicles of the machine age.

AIRWAYS

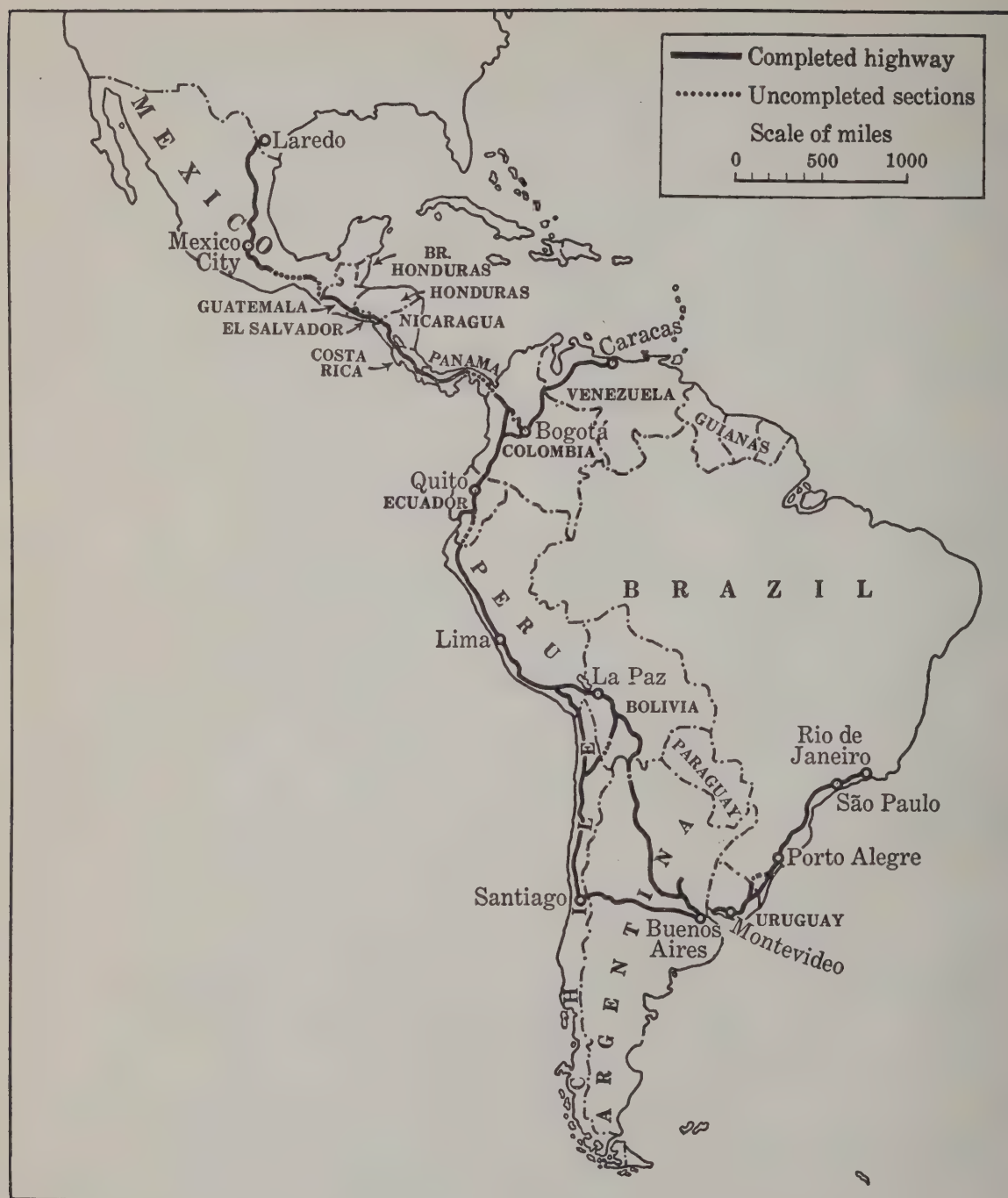
But if primitive methods of transportation are still the pattern in many parts of South America, the way of the future appears certain to be the most modern of all—the airplane. For the airplane has already established its place in South American transportation. Natural barriers that are almost insurmountable to land transportation are winged across easily by powerful planes. Remote places in the interior of Peru, Colombia, or Bolivia—days or even weeks from the coast by rail and trail—are but two or three hours

distant as the airplane flies. As early as 1933, over 600 tons of mining equipment was transported by plane into the hitherto inaccessible interior of Peru.¹ The news of the gigantic mechanical bird caused amazement among the natives. "Indians from the banks of the sacred Lake Titicaca, with a bag full of food and a pouch of coca leaves to give them strength, trotted for eighteen days over tortuous mountain trails to get a view of the plane. And when they arrived and saw the silver-winged creature descend from the sky and light upon the ground, they were struck dumb with awe. Some of the old ones dropped on their rusty brown knees in mute reverence."²

The great strides made in aviation during the Second World War promise to revolutionize transportation by way of air. So far, Latin-American airways have carried mostly mail and passengers, but the war has made transport of freight by air commonplace and cargo planes of the future may be the answer to Latin America's troublesome problem of transportation. Airways now link the principal cities of the Gulf and Caribbean area: Tampico, Havana, Cristóbal, Port au Prince, Barranquilla, San Juan. Other lines not only connect the principal cities of the developed areas, Bogotá, Guayaquil, Lima, Santiago, Buenos Aires, La Paz, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, Belém, and others, but also extend service to interior Brazil and to formerly remote Iquitos, in Peru. American capital plays a major role in these developments and Pan American Airways has one of the most remarkable safety records of any commercial

¹Hudson Strode, *South by Thunderbird*, p. 101. Random House, Inc., New York, 1941.

²Ibid. pp. 101-102.



THE ROUTE OF THE PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY



Fenno Jacobs from Three Lions

Workers in the Nitrate Mines of Chile

Indian Women Sort Tungsten Ore in the Bolivian Tin Mines

Fenno Jacobs from Three Lions





Gendreau

Oil Derricks in the Lake at Maracaibo, Venezuela

The Great Pacific Locks, Panama Canal, Panama

H. Armstrong Roberts





Pan American Airways System

A Modern Douglas Sails Easily over the Great Peaks and Chasms of the Cordillera

Llama Caravans Transport Copper Ores in the Peruvian Andes

Ewing Galloway





James Sawders

Quechua Indian Girls Weaving Carpets in Ecuador

Indians of Bolivia Bring Woven High-crowned Hats to Market

James Sawders



MINING, MANUFACTURE, AND TRANSPORTATION

air line. Before the war German lines were operating extensively in Latin America.

PAN-AMERICAN HIGHWAY

The two Americas will doubtlessly be encouraged to become better acquainted with one another by the completion of the Pan-American Highway. Already the more cordial relations and mutual interest created by the Mexican section of this project have been apparent. Thousands of Americans who have driven along the highway from Laredo to Mexico City have found the road good, the people friendly, the scenery marvelous, and the country fascinating beyond expectation. About three-fourths of the South American

section is now open to year-round travel. The Peruvian strip was completed most quickly; Ecuador has been slow; and Argentina has built through to the Andes. When completed, the highway will enable tourists to drive 10,000 miles from Chicago to Buenos Aires. Imagine a summer-holiday jaunt of 20,000 miles!

Within Latin-American countries, and between them locally, this road and its tributaries may open truck-transportation opportunities. However, for long hauls the ocean freight routes will undoubtedly continue to carry the great bulk of material between the Americas.

Cultural Trends and Social Problems

Cultural Influences

THE INFLUENCE of Europe has been stronger in Latin America than any influence from the United States. In spite of the importance of the Spanish language and ideas, many observers think that France has been the intellectual "mother country" of many Latin Americans, especially of the wealthy and better-educated classes. French is the second or third language of cultivated Latin Americans. French universities have trained many of their scholars and leaders; and in the secondary schools of Argentina and other nations of the south, French is a required subject for all students. When wealthy Latin Americans went on long holidays before the Second World War, they were most likely to go directly to Paris; many retired to permanent homes there.

Among the majority, however, the influence of Spain is predominant. The French influence may reach the minds of the cultured, but the Spanish enters into the complete pattern of customs in everyday life. This is shown by the old-world attitude toward girls and women. In courtship, girls are chaperoned very strictly and all arrangements made through the head of the family. The inventions of the twentieth century have only slightly lessened the seclusion of girls. Most educational institutions above the lower grades segregate the sexes. It is now regarded proper in some places, however, for groups of unmarried girls to attend matinee per-

formances at the movies together. The lack of habits of punctuality and the tendency to conduct business slowly, with great regard for formality and courtesy, are also due in part to the habits of Spain. The music and songs and dances of all Latin America show Spanish traits more than those of any other source.

There are, of course, other influential factors. As we have emphasized earlier, in many nations Indian culture blends with European to produce a true mixed culture. Mexico is perhaps the best example of this. Elsewhere, as in Peru, Indian and Spanish cultures have survived largely separate, both remaining very much intact. In Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Costa Rica the lack of Indian blood makes cultural life largely European in origin. Germany has had some influence. German military experts have helped to train army officers and native armies, as in Bolivia recently. German scientists have been recognized by Latin-American universities, as they have been universally. In some quarters the organization of schools has been based on German models, and German business methods have been followed by many firms.

But despite the influence of other nations, particularly Spain and France, the United States has undeniably moved closer to Latin America in a cultural sense. When Peru sought to reorganize its educational system in the 1920's, it called in educational authori-

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ties from the United States. Hollywood films, good and bad, have been popular with Latin Americans and have been on occasion a factor for unity. The translation of American books into Spanish and Portuguese, and the sale in Latin-American countries of magazines published here, have increased. It should also be remembered that Latin America does have a long tradition of respect for the democratic tradition of the United States. This can be said in spite of the failure of constitutional government in many Latin-American nations and with full knowledge of their many past grievances against us. It is worth remembering that Simón Bolívar was inspired by the American Revolution and had a great admiration for Washington. Juárez, the great Mexican patriot, was a contemporary and an admirer of Lincoln. Practically every Latin-American constitution was modeled upon the United States pattern. To be sure, many times these models did not work well on strange soil—but this is a cultural tie nevertheless. The bond of cultural unity with the United States was strained to the limit in the days of "dollar diplomacy"; yet it still existed. Today, with the wise statesmanship of Cordell Hull, Henry Wallace, and Franklin Roosevelt once again putting forward a platform of democratic idealism as a common tie among the Americas, this influence has become effective again.

Education

THE STATUS of education in Latin America is difficult to define. There are many variations, many local differences; yet the extent of illiteracy indicates that education is far from adequate in the area as a whole. Vene-

zuela apparently has been the most backward in this respect. Her illiteracy rate has been estimated to be as high as 90 per cent. In other nations, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, and Paraguay, for example, three out of four persons are unable to read or write. Uruguay's system of compulsory elementary education gives it the best educational reputation of all. Its small percentage of illiterates is found principally among workers in the more isolated rural areas. Argentina, among the large nations of the continent, does the best job of educating its people, only about one in five Argentinians being illiterate. These are found principally in isolated areas or among older persons who did not have present-day opportunities. Argentina has an educational tradition dating back to its schoolmaster president, Sarmiento. Chile, Mexico, Peru, Colombia, Cuba, and Brazil are making real efforts to meet the problem of ignorance.

The legal codes of most Latin-American nations provide for at least a minimum of free public education for all children,—good evidence that intelligent leadership has recognized the necessity for providing a system of public enlightenment. Social and political progress is hardly possible unless the people are educated to a degree considerably beyond the ability to read and write.

There are a number of significant obstacles to the development of public education in Latin America:

1. First is the problem of isolation, linked with the difficulties of transportation. The school laws have been carried into effect mainly in the urban districts.

2. Another obstacle is the aristocratic tradition in regard to education. Wealthy, cul-

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tured *hacendados* hired tutors to train their children and sent them to European universities when they became of age. This tradition of excellent training for only the few is, of course, not in harmony with the democratic ideal of education.

3. There is also the problem of public support. The poorer regions cannot build schoolhouses, buy equipment, and hire teachers for themselves. The more prosperous areas naturally wish to use their taxes to improve their own situation. Many schools are conducted in rented structures designed for other purposes.

4. The scarcity of trained teachers has also been an obstacle to progress. Normal-training schools have been set up, however, to meet this need. Colombia supports one of the best teacher-training schools in the Western Hemisphere.

As an example of what has been accomplished, the Argentinian educational system is worth notice. Elementary schooling begins commonly at six years of age. For two years the child is in what is known as the "infant school." After this the majority proceed on through the other four of the six elementary grades. Nearly 2,000,000 children are enrolled in the more than 13,500 primary schools. The principal emphasis in these schools appears to be on the "three R's" (reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic).

Most secondary schools in Argentina are public. Students in United States high schools would be surprised to find the entire curriculum required, no elective subjects, a five-year course, and a six-day school week. The graduate of the secondary school will be a better linguist than the graduate of a high

school in the United States, for he will have learned Spanish (his own language), French, English, and Italian. His curriculum will also have emphasized history, geography, mathematics, and science.

This organization on general emphasis is common to much of the educational practice in Latin America. Argentina and Uruguay have been more successful in making it universal than most other nations. Much criticism of the severe classical and cultural emphasis in these programs has begun to appear. In the elementary schools, too many students drop out after they have acquired a mere ability to read and write.

The failure to adapt the educational program to the needs of the students is shown best in the case of Paraguay, where the school curriculum is modeled on that of Argentina. For some years school enrollments actually have declined in Paraguay. The instruction was in Spanish, but most of the students spoke the Guarani Indian tongue. In addition, many of the children, afflicted with hookworm or other tropical diseases, or undernourished, were frequently too sick to learn.

Chile and Mexico have instituted newer educational programs, designed to meet more closely the educational needs of their people. Experimental schools in Chile have adopted more progressive methods of instruction. Considerable emphasis has been placed on vocational training. Mexico, too, has undertaken not only to combat its national illiteracy, which has been sharply reduced from about 90 to 50 per cent, but to put real life into its schools.

CULTURAL TRENDS AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Forward-looking educational leaders all over Latin America have begun to experiment with broader programs for their schools. They want, of course, to win the battle against illiteracy, which is far from won in most areas, but they are handicapped by lack of support, the obstacles of isolation and poverty, and by indifference. Education in Latin America is beginning to be concerned with such problems as personal and public health; vocational instruction in agriculture, domestic skills, and industry; social relations and civic duties. There is much room for progress. Latin Americans know this, and progress is being made.

Higher Education in Latin America

HIGHER EDUCATION in Latin America has a long history, dating back to Spanish colonial times. The oldest of all Western Hemisphere universities is the University of San Marco, in Lima, which was founded in 1531—over a century before the founding of Harvard College, the first institution of higher learning in the English colonies. Spanish colonial universities were founded by the Catholic Church, and stressed principally theology and law. Today the Church still maintains institutions of higher education, but more universities are sponsored and supported by national governments and by municipalities.

The University of Buenos Aires has the largest enrollment of any in Latin America—approximately 13,000 students in all its branches. This institution charges moderate tuition fees and has a broad program. Faculties are maintained in the fields of medicine, law and social sciences, physical and natural sciences, engineering, philosophy and letters,

economic sciences, agronomy, and veterinary science. There are also universities in La Plata, Córdoba, and elsewhere.

The University of Uruguay, at Montevideo, is the second largest in enrollment. It offers a broad program and is the only institution of its type in the nation. Santiago, Chile, has two universities, the University of Chile (state-supported and state-controlled) and the Catholic University of Santiago. The University of Chile is the most influential educational institution of the nation. It is the most active of all Latin-American universities in exchanging students with universities in the United States. At Concepción there is also a growing institution. The University of Mexico, in Mexico City, is another institution of high repute. It has an enrollment of about 8000 students. The influence of the United States has been strong here, and the summer session has become very popular. Many American teachers and students have studied at this university, where both the course of studies and the environment educate them in the ways of Mexico.

Practically every nation, except a few in Central America, possesses some institutions of higher standing. The University of Bogotá is Colombia's best; Bolivia has institutions at La Paz and Sucre; Ecuador, at Tinto and Guayaquil; and Paraguay maintains a university at Asunción. Latin-American universities are usually directed very closely by the national office of education. Commonly the universities have had much influence in fixing the course of study for the secondary schools. As was formerly true in the United States, this has tended to make the secondary-school program largely preparatory to the university.

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In many universities the various faculties are not very closely united. In fact, various courses — such as law and engineering — operate almost independently as separate “institutes.” The University of Rio de Janeiro, for example, was organized by loosely joining together several “institutes” of higher learning in special branches. Professors in the various faculties are frequently only part-time instructors. Successful lawyers, engineers, doctors, and men of affairs are engaged to teach a few classes a week. It is deemed an honor to be listed on the faculty of a university. This method of acquiring instructors is, of course, little used in universities and colleges in the United States.

In general, university students have a higher social standing than in the United States. A smaller percentage of the population goes to these advanced institutions than is the case in the United States, and their activities in politics and public affairs are more like those of the students in European universities. Frequently, in political campaigns, the students write editorials, make public addresses, and stage public parades. What is more, these student demonstrations sometimes have influence on public affairs.

The Newspapers

THE NEWSPAPER press of Latin America has in general been a democratic force. The freedom of the press has on occasion been curtailed by political forces, as in Venezuela under Gómez, in Bolivia, and to some extent in Brazil under Vargas. Nevertheless, in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and elsewhere the press has frequently been a leader in the political struggle for reforms and constitutional government.

Argentina is the greatest newspaper-reading nation of Latin America. Indeed, Buenos Aires supports its daily papers as generously as any city in the world. Two Buenos Aires dailies, *La Prensa* and *La Nación*, are among the best newspapers of the world. *La Prensa* was founded in 1869. It is now managed by Señor Ezequill Paz, son of the founder, and has a circulation of over 200,000 copies in its daily edition. The foreign news service of Argentina's leading papers is the best in the world, and in normal times Argentinian readers probably are better informed about world affairs than are American readers. *La Prensa* is made up in an unusual manner. Its first few pages are filled with classified advertising columns; so are the back pages. Therefore the reader must plunge into the depths of the paper to find the world news, the quotations on cattle and grain prices, or the soccer scores.

La Nación is a paper of nearly the same circulation as *La Prensa*. Usually it is less critical of the party in power and is more inclined to be doubtful of the motives of the United States. Many of Argentina's best journalists work for *La Nación*. Other papers of Buenos Aires include *El Mundo*, *Crítica*, and *La Razón*. The *Standard* and the Buenos Aires *Herald* are English-language papers of good standing. The provincial cities of Argentina also publish good newspapers; among them are *La Capital* of Rosario, and *Los Andes* of Mendoz.

The Brazilian press has been closely supervised by the Vargas regime. Censorship of foreign news has been common, and criticism of the government has been largely curtailed. Important Brazilian newspapers are printed

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in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Pernambuco, and other cities. Best-known of Brazilian papers is the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio de Janeiro. Brazil's best journalistic talent has worked for this paper. Today the Brazilian press is a force for national unity and for inter-American co-operation.

Chile has many newspapers. Hubert Herring says, "A new one is born each Tuesday morning and dies each Thursday afternoon, while a few go on forever." Among them are *El Imparcial*, *La Nación*, *El Mercurio*, and *La Hora*. There is a mild form of censorship, usually invoked against alleged disrespect to the government. Dr. Eduardo Santos, a former president of Colombia, is the publisher of his country's best newspaper, *El Tiempo*. This journal, reputed to be one of the leading newspapers of Latin America, has been influential in holding Colombia together politically and causing the country to maintain a "middle-of-the-road" policy.

Elsewhere in Latin America, the newspaper press, except for the better journals of Montevideo, is undistinguished. There are journals of local prominence in every capitol and in most important cities, but these are either under close government supervision, as in Bolivia and Venezuela, or reflect the political views of their owners.

Literature

LATIN AMERICA, like North America, was long dependent upon Europe for its literature and its ideals of literary expression. After independence was achieved, much of the literary influence came from France. Latin-American literature has been composed in three languages: Spanish, Portuguese, and French.

Poetry has been the most widely used form of literary expression. This was especially true in the nineteenth century. Among Latin-American poets of note in that century were Olegario Víctor Andrade and José Hernández. The latter is famous for a long poem, "The Return of Martín Fierro," concerned with the life of the gauchos. Andrés Bello was an important Chilean poet, and José Joaquín de Olmedo, who fought with Bolívar, was the leading poet of Ecuador.

Writers on political subjects and history have also been popular. Chief among the political writers was José Enrique Rodó of Uruguay. His masterpiece, *Ariel*, in which he stresses the theme of the materialism of the United States, in contrast to the culture and idealism of Latin America, is an essay well known to educated Latin Americans. This book has had considerable influence in forming the opinion of the United States held by Latin Americans. Bartolomé Mitre, founder of the Argentine newspaper *La Nación*, was a political essayist of renown. So, too, was Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Argentina's "schoolmaster-president." A political writer of recent years was the Peruvian José Carlos Mariátegui. His ideas on social and political reform helped to mould the opinions of Haya de la Torre, founder of the revolutionary Apra movement in Peru. Many Latin-American nations have distinguished national histories written by prominent statesmen with a literary bent.

Modern literature in Latin America has laid great stress on the novel. The *Gone with the Wind* of Latin-American literature was written by a Colombian, Jorge Isaacs. This was the nineteenth-century novel *María*, a

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sentimental love story with a setting on a Colombian plantation. It has sold hundreds of thousands of copies. Recent Latin-American literature has been in harmony with the universal trend toward realism in writing. The novel has become increasingly popular in the twentieth century, and writers have produced serious social novels concerning the problems of Latin-American life. The role of the Indian has been emphasized, and also the problems of the underprivileged. The work of Ciro Alegría is of this type. His prize novel *Broad and Alien Is the World* describes the fight of the Indians of the mountains to preserve their communal rights and properties against the encroachments of the expanding plantations. The novelists of modern Latin America are strong voices for democracy. Azuela, Guzmán, and López of Mexico are revolutionary writers of note.

Practically every nation of Latin America has a national literature. In some cases, as noted, it has produced work of continental and international fame. In other nations, like Paraguay, Bolivia, and Honduras, native literature is known chiefly within the country's boundaries.

Music

LATIN-AMERICAN music is most commonly known to North Americans through its dance forms and popular songs. Less well known are the native folksongs of Mexico, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru, in which Indian influence is predominant; and those of Brazil and the Caribbean Islands, in which African strains are strong.

Popular orchestras which specialize in Latin-American rhythms combine instru-

ments of European origin with native instruments to get unusual tonal and rhythmic effects. The marimbas of Central America, flutes, reed pipes, rattle sticks, gourds, and ukelele-like instruments are of native origin. Xavier Cugat has been a leading popularizer in North America of Latin-American rhythms such as the Latin-American version of the tango, the conga, and the rhumba. The popular songs of Mexico, such as *Estrellita* ("Little Star"), *La Golondrina* ("The Swallow"), and *La Paloma* ("The Dove"), have long since crossed the Rio Grande and become favorite American songs. Latin-American composers have frequently written selections that have become international "hits." Among these are Rodríguez's famous tango *La Comparsita*, Pérez Freire's *Ay, Ay, Ay!* and even "Three o'Clock in the Morning," composed by Julian Robledo, an Argentinian.

The opera has been popular in Latin America, naturally enough where southern European influence is so strong, but in the main, as in North America, this has represented practically an importation of European culture. Leading European companies and concert stars have always found appreciative audiences in the halls and opera houses of Latin-American cities. Indeed, it was in Rio de Janeiro that the great Toscanini got his first chance to exhibit his genius as a conductor.

Among the best-known, serious composers in Latin America are Heitor Villa-Lobos, Juan Carlos Paz, Luis Gianneo, Alberto Ginastera, and Juan José Castro. There is no doubt of Latin America's great contribution to musical tradition and of its continued creative interest in this aspect of art and culture.

CULTURAL TRENDS AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The Arts

THE CREATIVE ARTS of the Indians deserve much attention. In many of their handicrafts, skill really becomes art. The basketweavers, the makers of pottery, and the weavers of blankets and serapes, are among the true native artists of Latin America. Indian designs and influence are prominent in the urban arts as well.

The heritage of old Spain is, of course, nowhere more evident than in the architecture. The cathedrals and missions are testimony to the enduring influence of Spain and the Catholic Church. In the architecture of public buildings the pillars and arches are designed like those of old Spain, especially in those edifices that date back to colonial or provincial times. Urban residences of the well-to-do are often built close to the streets, with interior patios, overhanging upper windows, and grilled balconies in the old-world manner. But in the growing commercial centers, Buenos Aires in particular, the twentieth century has had a strong influence on architecture. Housing projects designed according to modernistic, practical plans and office buildings of the skyscraper type are to be seen.

Among the best known of Latin-American artists today is Molina Campos, Argentine cartoonist, whose sketches of Argentine types are witty and revealing. Mexican caricaturists Orozco and Salazar are well known. Diego Rivera, who is famous for his murals on revolutionary themes, is probably the best-known of Latin-American artists in the United States. Latin-American art, like its literature, has turned its attention to domestic scenes and problems for its subject

matter. This is a sign of maturity and cultural development.

Interest in Sports

LIKE their North American neighbors, Latin Americans are great sports fans. Some of the games they enjoy are native; others have been imported from Europe and America. Cuba has adopted the national pastime of its northern friend and has practically made baseball its own national sport. Cuban schoolboys may even aspire to big-league careers in the United States. The famous "Lefty" Gomez, for many years with the New York Yankees, and "Mike" Gonzales, National League catching star, are athletes of Cuban origin.

Cuba is also the home of *jai alai* (pronounced hī ä-li'). This game is played in a walled-in court considerably larger than a handball court. The hard rubber ball is caught and thrown in a curved wicker racket strapped to the player's hand. The sweeping movement with which it is handled gives the ball such velocity that it is a game only for the highly skilled. It has been called by some the fastest game in the world. Americans have marveled at exhibitions of *jai alai* in Cuba or in Florida, to which the game has been imported.

In Mexico the principal national sports interest appears to be in bullfighting. Sunday afternoons find the arena the focus of attention for thousands of people. Famous matadors are the sports heroes of Mexico and enjoy a reputation like that of our Joe DiMaggios and Bob Fellers. A number of years ago a Brooklyn taxi-driver named Sydney Franklin saw a bullfight, took up training

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for a career as bullfighter, and became a well-known matador. The Mexican bullfight may not appeal to our taste in sports, but to many people it is a most fascinating affair. Great interest arises from the colorful pageantry that surrounds the event. There is tension, drama, and gaiety. Bullfight fans are as critical of the technique of the fighter in goading the bull, in footwork, and in handling the cape and sword, as baseball fans in this nation are of the performances of their favorite players. Mexico, however, has interest in other games. Tennis and golf are enjoyed in those cities where facilities are available, and basketball and football are played in a few Mexican schools and colleges.

The long tradition of the aristocratic life and the importance of ranching have made horsemanship a prominent sports interest in Latin America. Crack squads of cavalymen from Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Mexico have frequently amazed and delighted United States audiences. Polo is a favorite sport of the well-to-do in these nations. There is great international rivalry over the horse shows and polo contests held in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and Santiago.

United States tourists might be surprised to find crowds of fifty or sixty thousand spectators cheering themselves hoarse over football. Yes, the scene would be quite familiar, but the game would not. In Latin America football was imported from England; therefore soccer, or sometimes Rugby, is the game played. Standings of the soccer leagues are followed as closely as our baseball box scores. The city workers of Buenos Aires, Rosario, Avelaneda, and Montevideo make this a major sports interest. Here and there

a cricket club in Brazil or Argentina shows the influence of England on the pastimes of the people. Tennis and golf are found in most cities of consequence, where they are enjoyed primarily by the rich and moderately well-to-do, the equipment being too expensive for the average citizen to own. Teams from various Latin-American nations participate in zone play for the Davis Cup, most prized of all tennis trophies. A player from Ecuador proved to be the sensation of winter tournaments in the United States during the 1942-1943 season.

Yacht clubs are found in most of the wealthy seaboard capitals: Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro. Their colorful regattas can hardly be called sports for the masses; they reveal interests similar to those of our own wealthy sportsmen. The Portuguese-speaking fisherman in Brazil has more serious work to do in his small craft.

The beaches of the seacoast cities are extensive enough for all to enjoy, and holidays see hundreds of thousands of city-dwellers flocking to these resorts, just as they do in New York City and Chicago. This is sport for the multitudes. The boys who dive for coins in the pools near Acapulco, in Mexico, seem as much at home in the water as on land.

Sports speak an international language and have an important role in promoting friendship. Latin Americans play some games that are similar and a few that are different; but they play games that we can understand, and we feel that our common interest in sports is a bond between us. Somehow Latin Americans seem less foreign, less

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difficult to understand, when you see that they enjoy the sports that we do.

The movies fulfill a major entertainment role in Latin America, even as they do in the United States. So far these have not often reflected creative activity on the part of the nations themselves. Most of the films shown in Latin America are Hollywood productions; some are English-made. The Germans operated a few picture houses, where propaganda was skillfully presented, before relations were generally broken off. The UFA German newsreels, offered free of charge to exhibitors, were shown commonly. These, of course, played up the successes of the Axis military machine and the supposed weaknesses of the democracies. Movies are popular and widespread. Not only do major cities have film "palaces," but small cities as well have exhibitors. Thirteen hundred of Brazil's 2348 towns and cities have movies.

The United States has undoubtedly won many friends in Latin America by the widespread appeal of its films. Charlie Chaplin made an excellent "good-will ambassador" for democracy in "The Great Dictator." This was propaganda that carried the democratic message home to millions of people. Walt Disney's films cannot be overestimated as factors in promoting liking for us. The splendid and sincere film "The Mortal Storm" proved very popular in Latin America. These examples show the influence of Hollywood at its good-neighborly best. But there is another side. Hollywood has on occasion offended Latin America. In "Argentine Nights," for example, it produced a film so unlike typical life in Argentina that it was hooted down in Buenos Aires. Too often

our movies have used the "comic opera" approach to Latin America with bad results. United States movies also often fail to give an accurate portrayal of American life and customs. Those of us who live here can see a distorted portrayal in a film, then can look around when we get out of the theatre and quickly correct many of the wrong impressions received, but the Latin American who sees the United States in a movie as a land of millionaires or gangsters or cowboys may get a decidedly warped view of our everyday life.

Latin Americans have contributed to the American film art by participation. Lupe Vélez and Dolores del Río are Mexican by origin. Carmen Miranda, Brazilian comedy star, has been a decided "hit" in the United States and a truly gay bearer of good will.

Educational films have been developed and used in the schools of Brazil, Chile, and Colombia. Only Argentina and Mexico have had success in the production of commercial films. Argentina now produces several dozen films annually, which not only have a local market but are also purchased in the neighboring countries of Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, and Bolivia. Among Argentine film stars are Luisita Behil, Pepe Arias, and Libertad Lamarque.

Social Problems

THE SIGNIFICANCE of three social institutions in Latin America—the family, the community, and the church—are worthy of notice. They are all factors in the generally conservative way of life of the Latin Americas.

The family, especially among the upper-class Spanish and Portuguese, has an impor-

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tance much greater than is apparent in North America. The household frequently includes the parents, the married sons and their families, and any unmarried daughters. Though the sons may be grown, the father's desire enjoys special privilege; and in most matters his judgment prevails. The close unity of the aristocratic family means that it can live in what is practically a world of its own. Thus it becomes very much attached to family tradition and exhibits a strong, sensitive pride. Naturally, since people living in such surroundings build up barriers against groups outside their own circles, they have strong social ties to others in their same social and economic position. Members of such close-knit family groups find a strong sense of security in such a system and therefore object to changes that will tend to break down its customs. The aristocratic family pattern seems generally to be a conservative force that tends to oppose change and social reform.

The community tends to be the strongest social factor among the Indian and mestizo groups who live in the interior highlands. The forces of environment are so difficult to master in these areas that the individual or the family cannot conquer them alone. This helps to account for the strong communal life of the Andean Indians. Tools, flocks, and lands are frequently held in common, and their use and division is decided by the council of the elders in the community. The desire for security is the motivating factor here, as in the aristocratic family, though the way of achieving that security varies with the environmental factors. Much of the land of the mountain hillsides must be terraced before it can be cultivated. This is no

job for an individual; therefore the community found it necessary to work in group enterprise. This close-knit communal life also tends to render society conservative. People living in semi-isolation cling to their old ways in order to protect the way of life to which they are accustomed. Since they have made adjustment to their environment over centuries of time, they are inclined to regard circumstances as satisfactory that with other standards would be unbearable.

The third conservative force is the Church, meaning, of course, the Roman Catholic Church. The influence of the Church in Latin America, in Christianizing the Indian and in establishing missions, schools, and universities, has been very important. The great majority of Latin Americans belong to the Catholic Church. In general the Church and state have officially been separated in most Latin-American nations. In Argentina over nine tenths of the schools are public rather than parochial. Religious toleration is generally practiced, but no Protestant Church has an important following. Politically the Church has ordinarily been conservative; and since, in colonial and provincial days, it was closely associated with the government, it became highly interested in preserving law and order. It was naturally inclined to support the *status quo*, because it feared the effect of change on its position in the society. Social welfare, it has believed, should be its concern along with concern for the spiritual life of the people. Because of its real purposes, the Church has been inclined to place spiritual or religious welfare first. In Mexico active hostility arose between the Church and movements for political and social reform. Elsewhere political and social

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reforms have been achieved by governments which either have co-operated with the Church's own social agencies, as in Brazil, or have divided their spheres of influence constitutionally, as in Chile. The Catholic Church has been, and still remains, one of the strongest and most influential social, cultural, and spiritual forces in Latin America.

Like the United States, Latin Americans have a number of unsolved social problems. Perhaps the principal key to the social problems of Latin America lies in the absence of a strong middle class and in the poverty and ignorance of the masses of the people. As we have seen, the ownership of the commercially important farm land is in the hands of a relatively few people. The majority work on these estates at low wages or live in back country on a subsistence basis. The middle class, which in the United States numbers from one third to one half of the population, is negligible in most Latin-American nations. Only in the cities, where professional services are demanded, where there are newspapers, schools, and prosperous independent businesses, is there the middle class, which ordinarily stands for progress and social reform.

Housing and sanitation are important problems. Every city has its slums, although these are not portrayed in travel folders any more frequently than we advertise our own. For example, in the beautiful city of Rio de Janeiro great numbers of people live in rows of frame and tin shanties that are far from conducive to health or happiness. In the parts of Santiago, Rio de Janeiro, Caracas, and Guayaquil where most of the people live, there are no modern sanitary facilities and frequently a dubious water supply.

Santiago, Chile, is the home of one of Latin America's most progressive universities; at the same time it has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world; in 1940 there were 191 deaths per thousand live births. The prevalence of tuberculosis as a principal cause of death testifies to the lack of adequate nutrition and proper housing. Typhoid fever kills many annually; yet where sanitation is properly carried out and water and milk supplies are supervised, it can be practically eliminated. Intestinal diseases claim the lives of thousands of infants unnecessarily, and there are many cases of rickets and scurvy, evidences of inadequate diet.

Controllable diseases, diphtheria and smallpox in particular, take many victims. Since immunization and vaccination are sure preventives of these ills, only two things stand in the way of eradicating them: lack of public information on methods of prevention, and lack of money to secure such protection. Chile, for example, has rid itself of smallpox by compulsory vaccination. Quack remedies and doctors have a considerable following among the ill-educated masses. In many cases adequate information services are needed to counteract these forces of ignorance.

Nations of Latin America realize their social problems, and governments are making efforts to solve them. The principal handicaps are political conservatism, which sometimes fails to look for the real cause of the problem, and lack of sufficient funds to carry through needed reforms. That action can get results is indicated in the case of Santiago and typhus. Typhus, not to be confused with typhoid fever, is a plague that is carried by rats. Lice bite infected rats and

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then bite well people, giving them the dread disease. In 1938 typhus claimed 264 victims in Santiago; in 1940, after public-health agencies campaigned against the source of the disease, the toll was reduced to 45.

Public-health services of the Rockefeller Foundation have been helpful. Information on the control of tropical disease has enabled many tropical ports to eradicate malaria and yellow fever. Guayaquil, Ecuador, we observed, was able to lose its old reputation as a "pesthole." Numerous institutions are working intelligently and diligently to overcome obstacles in order to promote child and social welfare. The Pan-American Sanitary Bureau and the Pan-American Child Congresses have been active, and bureaus to aid in maternal- and child-welfare work have been established in many nations. Uruguay has one of the most progressive child programs. In Argentina health centers for maternal and infant care have been established even in the southernmost provinces. These give information that reduces deaths from childbirth and infant mortality. In Brazil the Church has attempted to help organize social-service work to teach rural women how to care properly for babies and small children.

In many respects the professions of public-health service, social service, and nursing have been like that of teaching. Latin America has terrific problems of both social welfare and education, but in many areas it is tackling the problems as rapidly as workers are trained. Nursing schools in Colombia and Panama cannot fill the demands on them for trained personnel.

Wages in Latin America are generally low. The Brazilian government enforces a

minimum-wage law of \$4.50 to \$12 per month, according to the section of the country. Trained workers, such as bus-drivers or railroad conductors, may get \$15 to \$20 a month in Brazil. Argentine workers earn from \$30 a month for unskilled work to \$60 and better for skilled workmen. Food is cheaper in Argentina than in the United States.

Migratory farm labor in Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and elsewhere works by the whole family for merely subsistence wages. Housing and sanitary conditions are particularly bad for contracted rural workers generally. This has also been a problem for the United States.

Social legislation has been common in Latin America. It has been most effective in providing more security for the industrial worker, but it has been difficult to apply it to the agricultural worker. In most cases, the eight-hour day and forty-four- to forty-eight-hour work week are legally prescribed.

Retirement pensions for industrial workers are in effect in Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay; accident insurance is in force in Ecuador and Venezuela; and in Peru a government system of workers' restaurants provides adequate meals for a few cents. Chile's system of social insurance is the best in Latin America. It provides health insurance, maternity benefits, and pensions. Contributions to the social-insurance fund are made by the employer, the insured, and the government. Clinics and hospitals have been set up in both Peru and Chile. Among the people of Latin America, tuberculosis and venereal diseases have been common. Early detection

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and clinical care are important in reducing these diseases.

In general, we can summarize the social problems of Latin America thus:

1. Great unsolved problems of health, sanitation, housing, and nutrition exist.

2. The poverty of the majority of the people and their lack of education are strong factors in these problems.

3. Public attention is being given to these problems, and social legislation and social-welfare institutions are attacking them.

4. In attempting to control and eradicate disease and ignorance, Latin-American nations are acting in the democratic tradition and are building themselves into stronger nations.

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Latin-American Relations with the United States

Diplomatic Relations

DURING the "epidemic of revolutions" in Latin America between 1800 and 1825, the young republic in North America was not too engrossed in its own affairs to pay some attention to political conditions in the late Spanish empire. In the American Congress, Henry Clay assumed the role of leading advocate of diplomatic recognition of the new nations of South America. The United States sent a commission to Latin America to investigate conditions in 1817 and 1818, but no action was taken on its report. In fact, the United States did nothing about recognition of the revolutionary governments until after our deal for the purchase of Florida from Spain had been completed by treaty in 1819.

While the United States gave no official sanction to their acts, some Americans, veterans of the War of 1812, had fought with Bolívar in his campaigns for freedom. In addition, privateers were rigged and provisioned in United States ports for use against the Spanish.

When the Florida treaty was safely signed and sealed, the United States recognized the independence of Colombia and Argentina in 1812; of Brazil and Chile in 1824; and of Mexico in 1825.

In 1823 the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed. An interesting chain of circum-

stances called forth this statement of principle. After Napoleon had been driven from power in Europe, that continent was readjusted according to conservative principles at the Congress of Vienna (1815), when Europe sought to create peace and order by restoring absolute monarchy and upper-class privilege. To support this "Old Order," the monarchs of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France established an agreement, known as the "Holy Alliance," by which they pledged themselves to co-operate in putting down revolutionary or democratic movements which might threaten the stability of Europe or endanger their own crowns.

In 1823 France, acting on this agreement, invaded Spain to quell revolution and to place Ferdinand VII again on his throne. Thereupon Spain asked the Alliance for assistance in the reconquest of its New World empire. The British, fearing that France would gain a new foothold in empire-building, vigorously opposed any such plans. Canning, the British foreign minister, approached Richard Rush, our minister to Great Britain, with the proposition that the two nations co-operate in forestalling any moves on the part of the Continental powers in behalf of Spain. The United States, however, was committed to a policy of no alliances with European powers; therefore the statement of principle was made solely by America, not as a joint declaration by Britain and

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America. Actually Russian encroachment on the Oregon country troubled Secretary of State Adams more than the Spanish issue.

The Monroe Doctrine was included in the Presidential message to Congress of December 2, 1823. It can be divided into two main parts:

1. A statement to the effect that the American continents were independent and no longer subject to colonization. This was intended largely for Russia.

2. An assertion of the difference between our political system and those of Europe, and the declaration that we would "consider any attempt on their [the European powers] part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

The Doctrine as first laid down was simple and straightforward, a note of fair warning to Russia and to Spain. It has not been a static, unchanging principle but has been enlarged by later interpretation and practice. For example, in 1825, only two years after its promulgation, President Adams, on hearing it rumored that Spain intended to transfer Cuba or Puerto Rico to France, informed France that we would not consent to any such proceedings. Thus began the growth and enlargement of the Monroe Doctrine.

The effect of the Monroe Doctrine in discouraging encroachment on the independence of the new republics gave the United States for a brief time the reputation of benefactor. Later events were to change this attitude considerably.

The United States in the nineteenth century was an expanding nation. In 1803 it had

doubled its area by the Louisiana Purchase; in 1819 it had acquired Florida by purchase. By 1830 about 20,000 Americans had entered Texas, then a Mexican state; and in 1836, under the leadership of Sam Houston, Texas proclaimed and won its independence. A strong movement for annexation by the United States existed and was especially favored by Southern leaders, who sought new territory for slavery, and by those who had caught the fever for expansion. In 1845 Texas was admitted to the United States.

President Polk, an ardent expansionist who saw an opportunity to gain California, sent General Taylor into the area between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. The inevitable happened: Mexican troops challenged our entry, and the war was under way. Armies under General Taylor and General Scott invaded Mexico. Meanwhile Kearny, with an army of 1800 men, marched on Santa Fé. From here he marched to California, where Captain Frémont and Commodore Sloat assisted in our occupation of the already proclaimed "Bear Flag Republic."

In 1848 the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was signed with Mexico. By this treaty the United States gained title to the territories of Texas, New Mexico, and California. As compensation the United States paid Mexico \$15,000,000 and assumed over \$3,000,000 of claims against Mexico by American citizens. The same year, gold was discovered in California; and in 1849 came the famous "gold rush." Since thousands of settlers went to California by way of the Isthmus of Panama, the question of use and control of the route across this isthmus became a matter of official interest in America.

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The growing importance of both the Atlantic and Pacific seacoasts, and the apparent future increase of trade between these sections made Panama Canal talk begin to buzz. The United States already had a treaty with New Granada, looking toward a Panamanian Canal. Britain, furthermore, had gained concessions from Nicaragua, as had the United States also. Partly because of the peaceful settlement of the Oregon issue, American and British relations had recently improved.

As a result of disputes with Great Britain over concessions and canal rights in Central America, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 was negotiated. This treaty involved these agreements:

1. Each country was pledged to maintain the neutrality of any interoceanic canal that either power might build in Central America.
2. Each power agreed that other nations should enjoy the benefits of the treaty.
3. Both England and America agreed not to increase their possessions in Central America.

This treaty was of significance in the negotiations that later led to the construction of the Panama Canal.

During the Civil War came the first significant challenge to the Monroe Doctrine. This was the attempt of the French to establish a "puppet monarchy" in Mexico with Maximilian of Austria on the throne.

The occasion for the attempt arose as a result of the failure of President Juárez's government to meet its financial obligations to England, France, and Spain. These powers

planned joint intervention in Mexico and invited the United States to participate. Secretary of State Seward declined to take part, but expressed the official opinion that the powers had made clear their intention not to interfere with the Mexican people's government. The United States did not attempt to stop the powers from entering Mexico to adjust their financial affairs.

In the subsequent occupation of Mexico by joint English and French troops, the agreement among the European powers broke down. In 1862 the English and Spanish withdrew from the enterprise. Left alone, and with the United States involved in bitter civil strife, France extended its military operations in Mexico. In 1864 Maximilian accepted a crown as "Emperor of Mexico."

At the conclusion of the Civil War the State Department began to assume deeper interest in the affairs of Mexico. Especially when Maximilian announced that all followers of Juárez would be summarily executed did our government take offense. At this time strong agitation among our Union generals, including Grant, favored a military invasion to drive Maximilian from Mexico. At the end of 1865 Seward sent a very strong note to France urging that it cease military support for the "foreign monarchy" in Mexico.

Louis Napoleon decided not to risk war with America, a decision prompted both by the mobilized military might of the recently victorious Union and by his own diplomatic difficulties in Europe, where he was coming out second best in a duel of wits with the German statesman Bismarck. As a result of the withdrawal of French troops, the repub-

lican government under Juárez was restored, and Maximilian was tried and executed.

America's role in re-establishing Mexican independence gained good will for her in that nation. On the other hand, American leaders in the same period were uttering opinions which could only create fear and apprehension in Latin America. Mr. Seward had said in a public address in 1860: "I can look southwest and see amid all the convulsions that are breaking the Spanish-American republics, and in their rapid decay and dissolution, the preparatory stage for their reorganization in free, equal, and self-governing members of the United States of America."¹ From such statements arose the dread in Latin America over the intentions of the "Colossus of the North."

THE VENEZUELAN INCIDENTS

Toward the end of the nineteenth century two incidents, both involving Venezuela, served as cases for the bolstering and testing of the Monroe Doctrine. The first of these cases was the Venezuelan boundary dispute with Great Britain. In 1814 England had gained the territory known as British Guiana, whose boundary with Venezuela was badly defined. After 1876 Venezuela's repeated requests to have the issue submitted to arbitration were snubbed by the British.

When Venezuelan relations with England were broken off, it appealed to the United States to serve justice. In 1895 the United States undertook to enter the controversy. The reasons for this intervention were to gain standing among Latin-American nations and

to apply the Monroe Doctrine. President Cleveland and Secretary of State Olney enlarged upon the doctrine by asserting that the United States had the sole right among nations of protecting the Western Hemisphere. Cleveland insisted upon the American right to act as the third party in the case, even to the point of risking war with Britain. England, however, acceded to the demands for arbitration, and between 1896 and 1899 a commission and board of arbitration settled the boundary dispute, awarding most of the disputed territory to England. The real importance of the case was not in the settlement of the boundary dispute, but in the assertion of the enlarged responsibilities of America under the Monroe Doctrine, and the respect for that Doctrine which Cleveland's dogged determination in the negotiations with England compelled.

The principle that the United States had the exclusive right of protection and intervention in the Western Hemisphere was soon challenged by Germany. In 1902 occurred what is often termed "the second Venezuelan incident." German subjects, with those of England and Italy, had suffered financial loss because Venezuela had defaulted repeatedly on interest payment on its national securities. In 1902 Germany, England, and Italy seized Venezuela's gunboats and blockaded its ports. This period of actual hostility was terminated when the United States minister to Venezuela persuaded that nation to recognize the legality of the foreign claims and to submit the dispute to a mixed commission for settlement.

The mixed commission which met in Caracas in 1930 decided on the justice of the

¹J. H. Latané, *American Foreign Policy*, p. 418. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., New York, 1934.

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foreign claims. That the forcible collection of the full amounts claimed would have been unfair is indicated by the fact that Britain was awarded only about two thirds of its claimed damages; Germany was allowed less than one third of its; while Italy's award amounted to about one thirteenth of its original claims. The action of the United States in exerting pressure on Venezuela to settle these claims was highly unpopular in Latin America. Doctor Drago, Argentinian Minister of Foreign Relations, gave the most clear-cut objection to our policy. According to the "Drago Doctrine" investors in foreign countries must take their chances on the good faith and credit of those nations according to their own best judgment. Doctor Drago denied the right of foreign powers to collect forcibly the debts of their citizens in another country.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

In 1898 the United States fought the Spanish-American War. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, revolutionary activities had been almost continuous in Cuba; between 1868 and 1878 outright civil war had existed. Spain had then promised reforms in the shape of increased local participation in government and a relaxation of taxation, but these reforms were not carried out. In 1895 a new violent revolt swept Cuba. Spain attempted to crush it by increasing its garrisons and by vigorous action against the insurgents. These revolutionaries, hardly strong enough nor well enough equipped to take to battle against the Spaniards, resorted to guerrilla warfare. This form of action is unusually well suited to do damage to a foe whose forts and garrisons are situated on a foreign soil. The civilian population is, or-

dinarily, openly or secretly hostile, while the insurgents may strike swift blows at isolated garrisons or lines of supply and then disband to seek safety in friendly villages or in interior hideouts. The Germans in Poland, Yugoslavia, and Russia, and the Japanese in occupied China know full well the meaning of this type of warfare. For three years, from 1895 to 1897, Spain attempted to suppress these uprisings through summary trial and execution. General Weyler was in charge of Spanish military activities in Cuba.

American public opinion was strongly sympathetic with the Cuban desire for independence. Not only was there a humanitarian wish to see Cuba free, but American business interests with investments in Cuba sought American intervention as a means of ensuring political stability and economic prosperity. On February 15, 1898, occurred the mysterious explosion which wrecked the United States battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor. Whatever the cause of this incident, it served to inflame public sentiment and to furnish a rallying cry for the war that ensued. The war and its general outcomes are not a part of our story. Its most significant result in relation to Latin-American affairs was the establishment of a virtual American protectorate over Cuba.

When the time for American military withdrawal from Cuba came, in 1901, fears were expressed that turbulent conditions might return to Cuban politics. Because it was considered strategically dangerous thus to invite foreign intervention, Congress added to its military appropriations bill for the year the famous Platt Amendment. This virtually defined the status of Cuba as a protectorate

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and was accorded legal form in a later treaty. According to its terms no foreign power could establish control in Cuba, the United States assumed supervision over Cuban revenues, the United States maintained the right of intervention, and the United States was granted naval bases on Cuban territory. Both the desire to establish strong defensive outposts and to ensure stability for American investments in Cuba were the motives behind the Platt Amendment.

During the early twentieth century the United States further asserted its predominant interest in the Caribbean by the establishment of protectorates over other nations of that region, including the Dominican Republic, Panama, Nicaragua, and Haiti. The pattern was generally the same. The nation involved was in political upheaval; and the state of its revenues, chaotic. The United States asserted the right of intervention, established control over customs and revenues, supervised police and sanitary regulations, and negotiated loans to back the "protected" government.

Theodore Roosevelt attempted to harmonize such practices with the Monroe Doctrine. In 1904 he pronounced what has been called the "Roosevelt Corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine. In justifying our intervention in the muddled affairs of the Dominican Republic he said in his message to Congress in December: "If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of

civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing and impotence, to exercise an international police power."

THE PANAMA CANAL

The building of the Panama Canal, although of commercial and strategic advantage to the entire hemisphere, was attended by incidents which did nothing to create good will for the United States in Latin America. A French company had already attempted to construct a canal there, but had failed because of extravagance and inefficient management. It was seeking a buyer for the completed part of its work and its equipment.

Before the United States could proceed with the construction of an isthmian canal, it had to escape from the restrictions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. After one unsuccessful attempt to reach a new agreement with England, a settlement was reached in 1901, when the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was set aside in favor of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. This new agreement specified that the United States might construct a canal that would be under its own direct management. So the United States was given the sole right to police such a canal; although no mention was made of the right to fortify it.

The next task was the choice of a canal route. Rival enterprises were backing both the Panama route, as projected by the French, and a Nicaraguan route. After much

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debate and wrangling Congress decided to back the Panama venture on two conditions.

1. That the United States could buy the French rights for not more than \$40,000,000.
2. That a concession in Panama be secured from Colombia on reasonable terms.

The securing of an agreement with Colombia proved to be a stumbling block. In 1903 the American Secretary of State, John Hay, and the Colombia representative signed an agreement on these terms:

1. That the United States should secure a perpetual lease on a strip of land six miles wide across the Colombian state of Panama.
2. That the United States should pay Colombia \$10,000,000 cash and an annual rent of \$250,000 for the canal property.

The Hay-Herrán agreement was ratified by the United States, but failed to secure the approval of the Colombian Senate. Colombians regarded Panama as too important a national asset to surrender for what they regarded as a low price.

From this point the legality of our manner of securing canal rights was, to say the least, questionable. In Panama the breakdown of negotiations was a disappointment, for it was believed there that the construction of a canal would ensure the prosperity of that state. Dissatisfaction created considerable revolutionary activity in Panama. Although the Department of State refused to guarantee officially the success of the revolution, American warships were sent to the vicinity of the isthmus in plain encouragement of the revolutionists. On November 3, 1903, the uprising took place; on November 6 the United States

recognized the new Panamanian government; and a week later President Roosevelt received its representative, Señor Bunau-Varilla.

President Roosevelt, after the term of his Presidency was ended, justified his high-handed procedure in a public speech in these words: "If I had followed traditional conservative methods, I should have submitted a dignified state paper of probably two hundred pages to the Congress and the debate would be going on yet, but I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate, and while the debate goes on, the canal does also."¹

In 1904, the Hay-Bunau-Varilla treaty went into effect. This was an agreement with the Republic of Panama, having these provisions:

1. The United States guaranteed the independence of Panama.
2. The United States agreed to pay Panama \$10,000,000 and, after a nine-year interval, an annual rental of \$250,000.
3. Panama granted the United States perpetual control over a zone ten miles wide from ocean to ocean.
4. The United States received full power and authority over this zone and its naval approaches.

Latin-American nations were deeply troubled and aggrieved by the methods employed by the United States in these negotiations. Colombia's feelings can scarcely be described accurately in such mild terms. Public sentiment in that country was so indignant that first efforts of Panama and the United States

¹Latané and Wainhouse, *A History of American Foreign Policy*, p. 535. The Odyssey Press, New York, 1940.

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to appease her feelings merely added fuel to the fires of her resentment. Finally, as late as 1922, a treaty of conciliation was signed with Colombia. Oil interests seeking concessions in Colombia were especially anxious to have good relations restored. In accordance with this treaty the United States paid Colombia \$25,000,000; furthermore Colombia, which, like the United States, possesses both an Atlantic and a Pacific coast, was granted preferential rights in canal use; and Colombia in turn belatedly recognized the independence of the Republic of Panama.

The Panama Canal has three sets of locks: the Pedro Miguel, the Miraflores, and the Gatun. It is 50.5 miles long, was opened to commerce in 1914, and was officially completed in 1920. In 1938, 117,441 passengers and 26,227,268 tons of freight were carried through the canal. Its strategic importance in this global war is of major value.

A summary of American relations in the Caribbean, in an issue of *Building America*, was aptly captioned "Until Recently We Have Been Minding Our Neighbors' Business." Naturally enough, the acquisition of Puerto Rico, the establishment of a Cuban protectorate, and the building of the Panama Canal gave the United States considerable new interest in that area. However, our methods of asserting that interest have often appeared neither wholesome nor agreeable to our neighbors to the south.

In 1904 the Dominican Republic was in a state of bankruptcy. Germany appeared eager to act as receiver for this nation. Theodore Roosevelt, who showed little reluctance in wielding the "Big Stick," forced a financial protectorate upon the Dominicans.

In 1916 Nicaragua signed a treaty granting future canal rights to the United States exclusively. It also leased to America a naval base on the Gulf of Fonseca, and the Great Corn and Little Corn Islands. Costa Rica, Salvador, and Honduras protested strongly, but to no avail, that Nicaragua had bartered away rights over which it lacked exclusive control. From 1911 to 1925, American Marines were stationed in Nicaragua.

In Haiti the United States established its most complete protectorate. Before 1915, Haitian finances were so disordered that outside intervention appeared certain. In 1915 a revolution overthrew the government; the president was assassinated and his body dismembered. The landing of Marines restored order and shortly afterwards a treaty was signed establishing the protectorate. By the terms of the treaty, the United States took charge of the Haitian customs collections, a financial and economic adviser was appointed, and the native police force was directed by American officers.

Acting under the fear that the Danish government might dispose of the Virgin Islands to an unfriendly power, we purchased them in 1917. In this real-estate deal the United States paid \$25,000,000 for a few islands whose chief products are rum, bay rum, and sugar.

The end of the First World War found American Marines stationed in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua. However, subsequent events showed an improved attitude on the part of the United States. In 1925 the United States surrendered its claim to the Isle of Pines, off the Cuban coast. Dwight L. Morrow as ambassador to Mexico

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did excellent work in improving affairs with that nation. In 1928, after being elected President, Herbert Hoover made a "good-will" tour of Latin America. In office, he proved his "good-will" in a concrete way by withdrawing the Marines from Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic.

In 1933, in his inaugural address, President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced formally the adoption of a new attitude and policy of the United States toward Latin America. He termed this the policy of the "good neighbor." In other utterances he assured the Latin Americans that the United States had given up its former policy of armed intervention in the affairs of its neighbors. Public opinion in the United States had apparently long been ready for the official declaration of such an attitude. The democratic citizenry of the United States had often felt regret over certain unfortunate occurrences in our relations with our neighbors. In fact, Latin America's trust in our intentions would undoubtedly be greatly increased if Latin Americans knew the sincere friendship which the people of the United States feel for them.

Under the "good-neighbor" policy much progress has been made. The Marines were withdrawn from Haiti in 1934. The United States has removed its military and financial controls in most cases; the expropriation of foreign properties in Bolivia and Mexico failed to provoke revengeful acts; economic aid has been given to Latin-American states; and hemispheric policies and strategies have been dealt with in conference of all American powers rather than handled unilaterally by the United States. (See Chapter IX.)

Pan-Americanism

THE PAN AMERICAN UNION has had a varying reputation in Latin America. James G. Blaine sponsored the modern movement, which began in 1889. During the period of the "Big Stick" and "dollar diplomacy" it was frequently regarded merely as an agency for bending the will of Latin-American countries to that of the United States. The Latin American has commonly in the past objected to United States hemispheric policy as being *unilateral*; that is, the responsibility for formulating and enforcing policy has ordinarily been in the hands of the United States alone. Since 1933 the tone of Pan-American conferences has been more that of co-operating, equal republics than formerly.

Besides its work on major political and economic issues, the Pan-American movement has devoted considerable time to such matters as sanitation, child welfare, commerce, highways, the Red Cross, postal systems, education, arbitration, trademarks, and eugenics. Co-operation on matters of value to the entire hemisphere seems willingly given by the combined republics, but Latin Americans have been suspicious of all efforts to turn Pan-Americanism into a tool of "Yankee imperialism."

The inter-American conferences have an excellent record in promoting efforts to set up international peace machinery. At Mexico City, in 1901 and 1902, the delegates expressed adherence to the Hague Convention for settling international disputes peaceably; and at Rio de Janeiro, in 1906, approval of the principle of arbitration was again resolved. A suggestion for the formation of an American League of Nations, made by Uru-



Ewing Galloway

Marimba Bands Are Popular in the Hotels of Central America

University of Carácas

European



Our Movies Go South

European





SOUGHT FROM THREE LIONS

Mexican Section of the Pan American Highway Which Links the Americas

Conference of the American Foreign Ministers at Rio, Brazil

Acme



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guay in 1923, came to naught; nevertheless, in 1928 the delegates at Havana declared all wars of aggression to be international crimes. The Latin Americans were signatories also to the noble, but apparently futile, Briand-Kellogg Pact to "outlaw" war.

The 1933 Montevideo conference marked the beginning of better faith as a result of the "good-neighbor" policy. Further evidence of good will was shown in the harmonious atmosphere of the Buenos Aires meeting in 1936.

In 1938 the conference was held in Lima, in the face of impending war in Europe. Cordell Hull had hoped for the adoption of his strong plan for collective security among the Americas, but Argentina was unwilling to sign a binding agreement based on Hull's plan. Harmonious relations were maintained, and Latin-American confidence in the sincerity of the United States was strengthened when Hull acceded to the Argentinian plan, which declared that any threat to the peace and security of any American nation is a problem for all those nations. Accordingly, in the event of an attack by a foreign power the nations will consult together as to the proper course of action.

All the nations signed the "Declaration of Lima," sponsored by Argentina. This demonstrated to the world and to the Axis in particular the unanimity of Western Hemisphere nations on basic principles.

Several agencies, bureaus, and committees have been organized to promote inter-American co-operation in various special fields. You should be familiar with some of them.

The Pan-American Sanitary Bureau has been an effective agency since 1920. It serves as a center of research and information on public health in the American republics. Data on related problems is published and distributed by this bureau.

In 1927 at Montevideo was established the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood. Its job is to try to find ways of improving conditions for the health, growth, and training of American children.

The social and economic problems of the Indian in Latin America have lately been receiving more attention, and in 1940 there met in Patzcuaro, Mexico, the First Inter-American Congress on Indian Affairs. A permanent agency for the study of the Indian's problems will be situated in Mexico City.

Agencies to promote economic relations include the Pan-American Trade Mark Bureau, the Inter-American Radio Office, the Pan-American Railway Committee, the Pan-American Highway Confederation, the Inter-American Commercial Arbitration Commission, the Pan-American Resources Commission, the Pan-American Soil Conservation Commission, and the Inter-American Commission on Tropical Agriculture. There are other agencies, but these titles give at least an indication of the scope and variety of interests approached by inter-American co-operation.

Economic Relations

It has already been pointed out that diplomatic relations in certain cases hinge very closely on trade relations. Argentina would

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find it easier to co-operate with the United States if the United States found it easier to buy Argentine beef.

Basically the trade routes of both North and South America have tended to run east and west rather than north and south. Latin America has principally agricultural produce to sell. The United States is a manufacturing nation, but it is an agricultural nation as well. Latin America has wheat, cattle, corn, and sheep to sell abroad. So does the United States. Therefore in certain staple commodities we are competitors in world trade. Of course we buy coffee, which ties us commercially with Brazil and Colombia; and sugar, which links us with Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Peru. It is in Europe, however, that Latin America (Argentina in particular, for it is the great food-exporter) finds its natural trade outlet. England, Germany, and Italy are thickly populated and are not self-sufficing in food production. Therefore they need the wheat and beef that the pampas produce. Since they are industrialized, they have manufactured goods to sell in return. But the United States also has many manufactured goods that it would like to sell to Latin America. The problem is, What shall we buy in exchange for our goods?

The general nature of our trade relations with Latin America is shown in some trade statistics of 1940. In that year we sold to Latin America approximately \$703,400,000 worth of goods. In the same year we bought \$778,100,000 in value. The nature of our exports to Latin America was, as you would expect, mainly manufactured goods: iron and steel mill products, automobiles, industrial machinery, chemical products, textile manufactures, electrical machinery, etc. Our chief

imports, in order of value, were coffee (\$124,000,000), cane sugar, copper, petroleum, raw wool, hides and skins, cocoa, and sodium nitrates. Argentine beef is conspicuous by its absence from the list.

The chief aims of a "good-neighbor" economic policy toward Latin America are different from those of "dollar diplomacy." Today our desire is to develop Latin America rather than to exploit it. It is our hope to find new trade relations with nations there that will be mutually advantageous. Naturally, each nation of the hemisphere desires that its resources be developed to its own advantage.

There is some resentment against private undertakings in Latin America, because of the feeling that most of the benefits go to foreign investors. On the other hand, capital is needed for development of Latin America's resources and much of it undoubtedly must come from outside. American investors have become somewhat reluctant to invest in Latin America, for several reasons:

1. Up to 1932 nearly three fifths of private loans to Latin America were in default. Argentina and Venezuela alone had not defaulted.

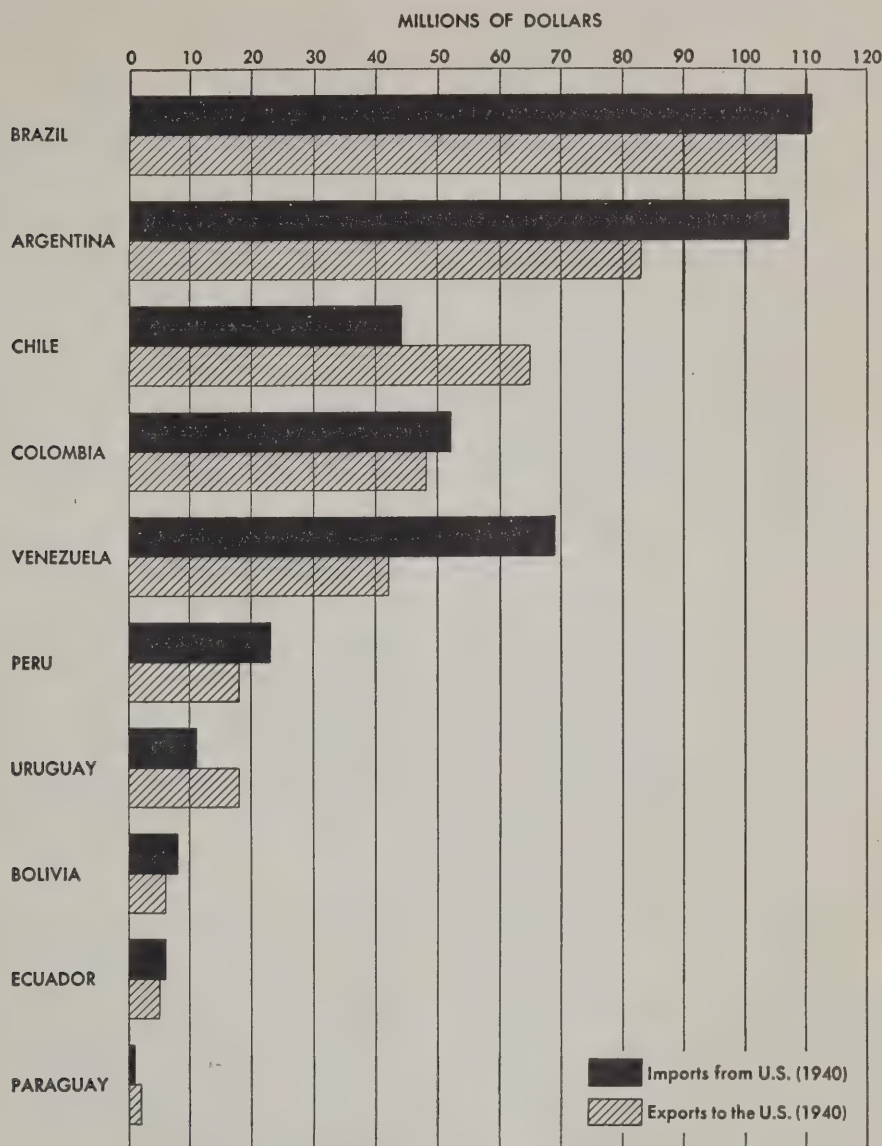
2. Internal political changes often caused unpredictable changes in government attitudes toward local industries backed by United States capital.

3. Mexico's policy of expropriation caused the fear that such policies might spread.

The inauguration of the "good-neighbor" policy found the United States attempting to play a more co-operative economic role in Latin America. There were three principal reasons for this:

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U. S. TRADE WITH SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES



1. We have a genuine desire to see prosperity return to the entire hemisphere.

2. We sought mutually helpful trade arrangements.

3. We feared the growing influence of Germany in Latin America, because its economic

influence was used as a part of its program for world political conquest.

Most important of the "good-neighbor" economic policies were the Roosevelt-Hull reciprocal trade agreements. These were be-

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gun in 1934 and enlarged in 1937 and 1940. Historically the United States has been a high-protective-tariff nation; Latin America has used tariffs chiefly for revenues. However, after 1930 Latin-American nations had raised tariffs in answer to our policy. In reciprocal trade agreements, treaties are entered into by which the United States and individual Latin-American nations agree to lower tariffs on goods they exchange directly. These agreements, in effect, are a "you lower your tariff and we'll lower ours" plan. They seem to work best with nations with which we have a natural trade relation, that is, they are most helpful where exchange of goods is beneficial to both parties. They do not solve the problem of our competitive commodities.

Of especial importance during the war is the work of the Export-Import Bank. This was established in 1934 and greatly expanded in 1940. The loss of trade with Europe and the curtailment of shipping facilities due to the war has of course worked great hardship on Latin America. Its surpluses mount alarmingly; we cannot even bring our normal amounts of coffee from Brazil and Colombia.

The Export-Import Bank was founded "to assist in the development of the resources, the stabilization of the economics, and the orderly marketing of the products of the countries of the Western Hemisphere." Its loans enable Latin-American nations to get credit in our markets and to borrow on their accumulated surplus goods. Its purpose is primarily to keep these nations going economically. It is an example of economic aid being used definitely to bolster hemispheric good will and solidarity.

Other agencies of economic co-operation are the Inter-American Development Commission, the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, and the Inter-American Bank. By the Inter-American Coffee Agreement of 1940, the United States agreed to limit its purchases of coffee from outside this hemisphere to a very low figure. It guaranteed Latin America the bulk of our coffee purchases and in addition set quotas for each coffee-producing nation of Latin America, so that each would know where it stood and could plan accordingly.

Intercultural Relations

IN MANY RESPECTS Americans, North and South, did not know each other very well in the past. Unless we are willing to believe that such ignorance is a good thing, we must admit the importance of improving "intercultural relations." By this term we mean the improvement of our knowledge and understanding of the customs, ideas, attitudes, and institutions of the other nations of this hemisphere.

Latin Americans have in the past frequently thought of the people of the United States as being purely materialistic in their outlook—too interested in making money to be concerned with other things in life. It is not too surprising that Latin Americans should have such an attitude; for, in the first place, it is partly correct. Many of the most able writers and observers of our society, both North American and European, have pointed to the same "money-mindedness" as a general characteristic of the United States. Where did Latin Americans get this idea? Partly from these sources:

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1. Our diplomacy in Panama and the Caribbean area did seem to indicate a considerable concern for the "Almighty Dollar."

2. Americans who went to Latin America for business and industrial reasons were frequently "high-pressure" types, who appeared interested only in making a quick fortune and getting out of South America as soon as possible.

3. The United States has been proud of being the "richest nation in the world." This pride is natural and justifiable; but how do you suppose our neighbors enjoy hearing it over and over again?

4. Remember also that much of the information that Latin America got about our culture frequently reached them second-hand. Educated Latin Americans have commonly been trained in European universities, especially French; not so frequently in the North American universities. It has often been true in the past that European scholars have had little regard for North American culture; naturally, this lack of regard was passed on to their students.

On the other hand, North Americans have been guilty of many errors in judgment in regard to Latin-American culture. We have too often thought of Spanish influence, for example, in terms of the ruthlessness of the *conquistadores* and the attempted enslavement of the Indians. Might it not be better to think of the lasting influence of Spanish civilization on the architecture, music, art, religion, and other institutions of Latin America?

Probably "backward" is the most common adjective used by the badly informed about Latin America. Now here again is a case of

a little learning's being a dangerous thing. There can be but little doubt, for example, that the development of the upper Amazon valley is "backward." But recalling the beauty and dignity of Rio de Janeiro, the efficiency of the Santos coffee port, the intelligent world policy of Getulio Vargas, does it seem fair to use this word too loosely? Certainly, the Guianas are "backward," and they are owned by European nations. Paraguay is far from progressive. There are too many illiterates among the poor. Indeed, there are too many poor in many places. But think again; would you term Santiago, Buenos Aires, or Montevideo "backward"?

It is dangerous to use sweeping general statements about big situations when our information applies to only a small part of the whole. Do you remember the fable of the "Blind Man and the Elephant"? Intelligent study is probably the best contribution that individual Americans of both continents can make toward better intercultural relations, and considerable progress is being made toward facilitating such study. The flood of books on Latin America and the success of many of these indicate how strong today is the interest of North Americans in Latin America. In fact, it is relatively easy for a person in the United States to acquire information about Latin America if he is sufficiently interested. Reasonably priced magazines carry many articles on this subject, and public libraries have at least a few books of recent date.

But it has not been so easy for Latin Americans to get reliable information about the United States. The publishing trade is well established in some Latin-American cities, but books of accurate information on

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North America have not been widely published in Spanish and Portuguese. In addition, North American books and magazines are far too expensive for the average Latin American to buy. If a Chilean teacher receives \$35 a month, do you think she will buy many three-dollar books in a year? (You should not be too shocked at such an implied statement of fact; many teachers in the United States receive little better wages—and they too buy few books.) Recently the *Reader's Digest* has published an edition for Latin America in the languages of that continent. This has been sold at a low price and has proved very popular. Since it furnishes a collection of the best representative articles, some of which depict our life clearly, this should prove a helpful factor in promoting better intercultural understanding. *Time*, the news magazine, also publishes an edition for Latin America, which is flown south for quick circulation. In all such methods of increasing the opportunity for study, it is important that accurate, reliable information be stressed. Latin Americans are sensitive to, and fearful of, plain propaganda. But "good-neighborliness" is beginning to pay dividends in confidence. Latin Americans are becoming less suspicious of our interest in them and of our desire for them to know more about us.

The radio should be a strong factor in cementing intercultural understanding. Latin-American listeners are reached ordinarily by short-wave broadcasts beamed directly to that continent. Several of our most high-powered broadcasters send programs regularly to Latin America. Germany and Italy, however, got a head start in the use of radio, for they early recognized its possible uses in building good will.

Since Latin Americans, as we noticed, are inclined to think of us as too "money-minded," it is probably fortunate that they hear few of our domestic daytime broadcasts. Surely, a diet of our "soap operas," with their frequent three-minute "commercials," would do little to gain their friendship. Probably they would enjoy as little as we do having a musical program constantly interrupted for a purely commercial announcement. But Latin Americans are receiving a better diet on their North American short waves. They enjoy hearing their own tunes and rhythms well played by Xavier Cugat. They recognize the honest, though censored, war news from the United States as more reliable than the purely propaganda stuff from Berlin and Rome. Latin Americans learn that we are not completely materialistic in our interests when they hear the Metropolitan Opera Company perform a favorite opera by Verdi or Puccini. They realize that our support of great institutions devoted to fine music, such as our fine symphony orchestras, is a sign of cultural life and vitality. The music of George Gershwin wins friends for the United States as surely as our purchase of Brazilian coffee.

Another extremely important factor in intercultural relations is the contact between peoples of North America and Latin America. There has been much less contact between Latin America and the United States than between Latin America and Europe, or between Europe and the United States. It is a long 6000 miles from New York City to Buenos Aires. Distance alone constitutes an obstacle to travel. The typical Caribbean cruise taken by winter vacationists probably did little to promote understanding. The

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highway to Mexico City has undoubtedly done more than any other single thing to encourage travel in Latin America. The development of airways ranks a close second and will be even more important in postwar years.

Study of Latin America in American colleges and universities has increased. Among institutions which afford leadership in this field are Leland Stanford University, the University of Chicago, and the University of North Carolina. Exchange of students and professors has not been common, but is becoming so. There are financial difficulties in the way of Latin-American students' coming here to study. Living costs are higher; exchange rates often make the American dollar expensive in terms of the students' own currency. This condition makes advisable special scholarships and grants to ease the financial burden. The best exchange arrangements are those existing between Chile and the United States. There are now few important colleges and universities in the United States that do not have in attendance a few students from the republics to the south. It would seem that out of mere hospitality and courtesy, as well as in the interest of international good will, our own students should go out of their way to make these years in the United States as pleasant and valuable as possible for Latin-American students. Membership in clubs and social groups, and invitations to participate in activities, should be extended freely, and wholesome association with the United States way of life encouraged at every turn.

The most important agency in America for promoting intercultural relations is the recently founded Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, headed by Mr. Nelson Rockefeller. It is a clearinghouse for information, a general source of knowledge, and an active promoter of good will. It issues films, book lists, pamphlets, and many publications; and through the Roosevelt scholarships it provides all expenses for sixty students annually: forty Latin Americans to study in the United States; twenty United States students to go to Latin-American colleges.

Public schools and civic organizations are now taking an active interest in this problem. Courses, units, and projects about Latin America are becoming common parts of school programs. The teaching of Spanish is receiving important emphasis. Your study of this unit is merely one evidence of a widespread interest in this subject.

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Latin America and the World Struggle for Freedom

THE FIRST WORLD WAR involved many nations of Latin America, where, in general, public sympathy was strongly pro-ally. The high regard for French culture and French institutions was a strong factor in this sympathy. Argentina and Chile were also bound by economic ties to England.

Mexican relations with the United States were not of the best during the First World War. American troops under the command of General Pershing were on Mexican soil. German agents did their utmost to bring the strained relations of the two powers to the breaking point. In fact, one reason for United States entry into the war was the exposure of the "Zimmermann note." This was an offer to the Mexican government by the German ambassador in the United States of terms on which Germany would receive Mexico as an ally in the war against the United States.

In 1917 the United States declared war against Germany. Three Latin American nations declared war in the same year—Brazil, Cuba, and Panama. In 1918 Guatemala, Costa Rica, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Honduras joined the fold, and five other nations broke off diplomatic relations with the Central Powers. These were the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Uruguay.

Mexico and Colombia both remained neutral, partially at least because of diplomatic grievances against the United States. Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, and Paraguay remained neutral partly because of commercial reasons, partly because of German influence, and partly because of simple isolationist tendencies due to their remoteness from the war area. Argentina and Chile were not always far from the scene of battle, however, for important naval engagements between the British and the Germans were fought off the coast of each.

During the war Latin America was cut off from many common sources of manufactured goods in Europe. This was an important factor in giving impetus to the development of a manufacturing industry in Latin America.

After the First World War many Latin-American nations entered the League of Nations in the hope that this would prevent their being dominated by the United States. Like many other nations, they found the League a disappointing institution. Many of them dropped out, largely because the League was concerned primarily with European affairs.

The rise of fascism in Europe brought a sharp new issue into Latin-American affairs.

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At first the issue was not very clear, but it finally reached a point where every nation had to decide where it stood—whether it was going to favor democracy or dictatorship in the world struggle. Cultural factors pulled Latin-American nations in both directions. The love of France and French institutions has always been strong in Latin America. Germany's conquest of France could not help arousing sympathy for that nation in many quarters. On the other hand, it is estimated that one out of every three persons in Argentina has Italian blood—a fact which would incline many toward sympathy with Fascist Italy. The influence of General Franco and his Spanish Fascist movement had some influence among those of Spanish blood, whose sympathies naturally went out to the mother country. Yet there was another factor to be considered: the influence of the United States. For years the United States had been hated for its "dollar diplomacy" and feared as the "Colossus of the North"; but years of the "good-neighbor" policy, and of good intentions proved by good deeds, had begun to win a more desirable form of leadership for the United States in Latin America. Many Latin Americans would look to see where the United States stood in regard to the Axis, and the United States did not long leave its sympathies in question.

So the Second World War found public sentiment in Latin America divided and confused, just as in the United States. Nations had Hitler's promise of an attempt at world conquest in his book *Mein Kampf*. However, it took lesson after lesson to convince most of the world that he meant to make good his boast. Not until his world

strategy became clear and his armies came dangerously close to joining hands with Japan's across Asia did many realize the danger.

Herman Rauschnigg, once president of the Danzig Senate, has told something of Hitler's plans for Latin America in the "New Order." Hitler said, according to Rauschnigg, "We shall create a new Germany in South America. We must strengthen these people's clear conscience, so that they may be enabled to throw both their liberalism and their democracy overboard." Can it be doubted that a victorious Germany would turn quickly to the colonization and development of South America? Over a million German settlers there already could tell of the opportunities for settlement in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. An overpopulated Germany could find ample living space in Argentina alone—a land of 13,000,000 capable of supporting 40,000,000.

The strategic defense of the Western Hemisphere is not an easy one; it is ten thousand miles from Greenland to Tierra del Fuego on the Atlantic side alone. Before the end of 1942 two danger zones were most evident in hemispheric defense. One of these was the Panama Canal; the other was the "Brazilian hump," opposite Africa. Improvement of the defenses of Panama, expulsion of all Japanese from the Zone, the acquisition of Caribbean bases in a complete semicircle, and the building of a new set of locks made the canal relatively safe. But Dakar was only 1500 miles from America; and Dakar was under the control of the Vichy French, who were co-operating too well with the Axis to suit our desires. Both as a submarine base and as a possible invasion springboard, Dakar

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was a loaded pistol aimed at America. The success of the Anglo-American invasion of North Africa in the fall of 1942 finally brought this menace to an end. Frenchmen fighting once more on the side of freedom have made Dakar a United Nations base.

This war is a "global" war. That is, there is hardly a spot on the globe not involved in the war or vitally affected by its outcome. It has also been called a "total" war. This implies that resources contributing to a nation's total war energy will be of the utmost importance. The importance of resources has been made clear in the great offensives of the Axis. Germany invaded the Ukraine to get its wheat and its industry; it attempted to conquer the Caucasus for its oil. The Nipponese went into Malaya and the Dutch East Indies to secure supplies of oil, rubber, tin, and manganese for their military and industrial machine. Because it is a war of resources, Latin America plays an important strategic role. The loss of the East Indies brought home the tragedy of our failure to keep Brazilian rubber production active. Today we buy what rubber we can from Brazil, but it is pretty much a matter of the old story of "too little and too late."

The loss of the East Indies also led to revived interest in Peruvian cinchona, from which quinine is made. Much of the fighting, especially against Japan, is carried on in the tropics; and tropical warfare means that every soldier must be protected against malaria. The specific drug for this protection is quinine. Synthetic drugs have been created to help fill the shortage, but civilian and military demands together have taxed all available supplies to the limit.

Japanese conquest of Malaya also cut us off from our greatest prewar source of tin. This strategic metal is found in large quantities in Bolivia, but difficulties of transportation and inadequate smelting facilities stand in the way of any rapid expansion of this source of supply. However, without the Bolivian source our strategic position in regard to this mineral would be decidedly critical.

The importance of aluminum in the construction of precision parts for engines, in the manufacture of light, durable alloys, and in the making of airplanes is of utmost importance. Much of our bauxite, the ore from which aluminum is made, is imported from Dutch and British Guiana. The importance of this source of supply can hardly be overestimated.

In addition Latin America produces other materials of critical importance. Chilean copper is needed to the full extent that shipping is available to bring it to the United States. The vanadium of Peru is needed for the manufacture of high-grade steel alloys. Venezuela furnishes much of the aviation gasoline used by our fighters and bombers. From Brazil we get industrial diamonds and manganese. The knowledge that Brazil possesses great undeveloped reserves of iron ore is a comforting one when we realize the alarming rate at which we are exhausting our own resources in that metal. From Cuba the United States gets both manganese and chromite. Mexico provides mercury and antimony, and also sisal, which provides a source of twine and cordage.

But, in war as well as in peace, Latin America's importance as a supplier of food



cannot be ignored. In recent years, before the war, the Middle West, Canada, and Argentina had to worry about surplus food production. Today the picture is reversed. With the Ukraine a battleground, with millions of men

of Europe and Asia and America in armies, and with thousands of farm families dislodged from their homes, the question of food is now a problem of adequate supply, not of surplus. The present question is, Can

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the farmers of the world raise enough to feed the armies of the world, the refugee peoples, the nations that will be liberated from the Nazis and Japs, and the civilian populations at home? Part of the answer to that question undoubtedly lies in the soil of the Argentine pampas and in the plantations of Brazil and Chile and Cuba and the rest of Latin America. It would appear that the strategic importance of food in the postwar world should lend Latin American agriculture a role of great importance in that world.

In the decade before the Second World War the nations known now as the Axis powers had made considerable progress in the economic and cultural infiltration of Latin America. So far as legitimate trade with Latin America is concerned, there is no cause for any nation to resent the honest trade practices of another. However, totalitarian nations employ trade as they use everything else—as a step toward political influence in foreign countries and eventual domination of them.

German airways before the war flew about three-fourths as many miles of air lines in South America as did Pan-American Airways. The German *Lufthansa* was backed by the Nazi government and was used in part as a training school for the pilots of the now infamous *Luftwaffe*. Some of these lines were operated directly by the *Lufthansa*; others were chartered as local companies using German personnel and machines. The *Syndicato Condor* of Brazil and the *Aero Posta* of Argentina were thus operated. The Latin-American nations, however, did not allow foreign nations to develop all the commercial lines. Argentina, Peru, Chile, Brazil,

Mexico, and Uruguay operated commercial air lines quite independently.

Economic infiltration by means of trade was a successful policy of Germany before the war. Yet despite German gains in trade between 1933 and 1939, political influence did not develop to an overwhelming extent in any nation; for the United States and Great Britain combined far outweighed the Nazis in importance to Latin America, both as suppliers of manufactured goods and as customers.

The German position in world trade in this period was an unusual one. The Nazi nation was, by conventional standards of finance, bankrupt; for German currency was unsupported by gold and worthless in international trade. Therefore Germany was forced to conduct trade virtually on a barter basis. The inconvenience of out-and-out barter was reduced by the use of so-called "Aski" marks. Aski marks were certificates of credit given by Germany in exchange for goods. Now these Aski marks were not good in international trade; that is, no nation but Germany would accept them. Therefore, if you sold goods to Germany, you could not shop in international markets for what you wanted in return but had to use your entire credit in Germany. In spite of the inconveniences of this type of trade, Germany was able to get many raw materials from Latin America. By offering excellent bargains in manufactured goods (whose delivery was frequently long delayed), the Nazis made barter deals for coffee, cotton, nitrates, oil, and other commodities.

There was also the question of the existence of an active Fifth Column in Latin

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America. That there was a Fifth Column is beyond doubt; but although it was a dangerous menace, it did not assume the proportions that some had predicted. The Nazi groups were neither strong enough nor intelligent enough to carry their plots through to successful conclusions. In Brazil President Vargas, by brilliant, swift action, effectively blocked a sudden Nazi revolutionary attempt. There was also revealed in Uruguay a Nazi plot to seize that nation as an agricultural colony of the Reich.

Immigration to Latin America from Germany, Italy, and Japan had been heavy, especially since the First World War. The Germans were found principally in Argentina, Chile, and southern Brazil; the Italians migrated largely to Argentina; while the Japanese came in large numbers to Brazil and Peru. Many of these groups, especially the Italians in Argentina, became good, loyal citizens of their adopted nation. However, the German populations tended to remain in closely knit groups; sympathy for the fatherland was strong among them, and active agents circulated among them to instill subversive thoughts into their minds.

German consulates and embassies were active spy centers, and so greatly overstaffed that there could be little doubt that propaganda and espionage activities were the principal duties of many employees. German business representatives also did their best to influence their associates by praising the virtues of the German "New Order" and warning them of the "inevitable triumph" of the Third Reich. The UFA newsreels were widely distributed to theaters, and Trans-ocean News Service extended its "services"

at cheap rates, or even free, to newspapers of Latin America.

In September, 1939, the Nazi armies invaded Poland. England and France, which had attempted to appease the totalitarian powers so long, now accepted the challenge. The Axis bid for world dominion was under way, though even yet its master plan was only partially recognized. The European war now struck the Western Hemisphere with the problems, not of participation, but of preservation of neutrality, and of hemispheric defense and solidarity. There were in all the Americas the same general groups of public opinion:

1. The interventionists, who maintained that this war was a struggle for world mastery and that free nations could not exist in a world with a victorious Hitler. (The facts of history proved them right.)

2. The isolationists, who considered the war solely the concern of Europe. They believed that this nation and hemisphere could remain aloof from the struggle without endangering their security. Some of the isolationists were sincere nationalistic patriots; others were sympathetic with the totalitarian ideals of the Axis.

3. The undecided, many of whom were too engrossed in business and private affairs to be concerned with world affairs. The development of events has left few of these.

The American nations, fortunately, were working in closer co-operation in 1939 than perhaps at any other time in their history. In the Buenos Aires conference of 1936 the defense and security of the Western Hemisphere was declared to be the responsibility of all the nations. The Monroe Doctrine was

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no longer merely a political tool of the United States. Furthermore, at Buenos Aires and at Lima in 1938 the United States had disclaimed the right of intervention in Latin-American affairs. Therefore the declaration of war found the Americas with a working understanding and a plan of co-operation for the difficult days ahead. Not only that, but Franklin D. Roosevelt and Cordell Hull had so successfully convinced many Latin Americans of their high-minded statesmanship and good will that these men could furnish trusted leadership in hemispheric affairs.

During the first month of hostilities in Europe, the Pan-American nations met for a Neutrality Conference in Panama. Here they affirmed their adherence to international laws of neutrality and declared the existence of "a neutrality zone" three hundred miles in width along the Atlantic coasts. The belligerent nations were informed of the action and were asked not to commit acts of war within the specified limits. The nations in question refused, however, to accept this as a binding principle of international law. It is apparent that the first impulse of the American nations was in accord with "isolationist" philosophy; that is, an effort was made to quarantine ourselves away from the war. The early arms embargo and the later "cash-and-carry" neutrality acts in the United States illustrated the same tendency. However, the actions of Nazi Germany gradually turned world sentiment in free nations strongly against her. The broken treaties; the invasion of small neutral nations; the savage bombings of Warsaw, Rotterdam, London, and Coventry; the persecution of religious minorities and of captured peoples; the execution of hostages; the submarine warfare

against neutral shipping; the Italian "stab in the back" of France; the gradual unveiling of Hitler's plan of world conquest—all these shocked public opinion and turned it against the Nazis and their partners of the Axis. Long before Pearl Harbor, the nations of the American continent had begun definite steps not only to defend the hemisphere but to curtail Axis influence and Fifth Column activity.

In July, 1940, the Pan-American statesmen met in Havana. The fall of France had presented a dangerous threat to the security of the hemisphere. What would happen if French or Dutch colonies in the Caribbean area were to fall into German hands? The conference agreed that if this seemed probable a joint committee of the nations should take over such colonies for the duration of the war. It also decided that in case of an emergency, any nation of the hemisphere might act immediately to protect the security of the Americas.

Only a few months later, in September, 1940, President Roosevelt made public the famous "destroyer deal" with England, by which, for the possession of fifty United States destroyers, Britain gave the United States an outright gift of two and a ninety-nine year lease on six properties between Newfoundland and Guiana, to be used for naval and air bases. Cordell Hull assured Latin-American nations of their right to use the bases on a co-operative basis. The defense of the hemisphere, particularly the vulnerable Caribbean and Panama Canal areas, was enormously strengthened by this bargain.

In 1941 Mexico and the United States announced plans for joint, co-operative use

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of naval and air bases. In the same year Panama granted the United States the right to widen its military defenses beyond the actual Canal Zone.

In 1940 and 1941 most of the German-controlled air lines were disbanded in Latin America. Colombia first revoked the license of the Scadta Line. The presence of German pilots in Colombia was a distinct hazard, for the routes they flew were only a few minutes' flying time from the Panama Canal. They had every opportunity to learn the nature of the terrain and possible approaches to that strategic zone. The closing of the Scadta Line was a real step toward the security of that vital link in hemispheric defense. Ecuador followed the pattern set by Colombia by revoking the rights of the Sedta Line, which was also German-controlled. In 1941 both Peru and Bolivia canceled the contracts of German aviation companies operating within their boundaries. The United States in turn expanded commercial air-line facilities in those countries, in order to prevent hardship in the curtailing of the former air-transport facilities.

The attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, proved once and for all the vicious designs of the Axis on the Western Hemisphere. The declaration of war on Japan by the United States was followed by German and Italian declarations of war in support of their partner in international crime.

The reaction throughout the Western Hemisphere was electrifying. The isolationist point of view was now proved wrong by actual events. Even as groups within our attacked nation moved toward closer unity, so did the nations of the hemisphere draw

together to face the common danger. The United States was soon joined in its declaration of war by several nations of Latin America. The loss of ships sunk by submarines, espionage activities by enemies, deliberate propaganda designed to undermine faith in established governments, sabotage, all served as provocation to Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, Panama, Costa Rica, and the other nations which joined the battle against the Axis.

Early in 1942 there convened in Rio de Janeiro the most dramatically successful of all Pan-American conferences. Here the nations of the hemisphere reaffirmed their faith in the principles of free government, and their disbelief in international anarchy and aggression. The meeting brought about the breaking of diplomatic relations with the Axis by all American nations except Argentina and Chile. Chile several months later joined the co-operating powers. Argentina's public largely sympathized with the United Nations; her great newspapers *La Prensa* and *La Nación* showed clearly their pro-democratic sentiments; but the isolationist President Castillo and a clique of pro-Axis politicians stood in the way of Argentina's taking a proud and rightful place among the nations battling against the world menace of fascism.

During the year 1942, American members of the United Nations co-operated in attacking the submarine menace, the navies of Canada, Brazil, Mexico, and the United States all participating in this crucial struggle. Naval and air bases have been established on the soil of Brazil, with the co-operation and full consent of its government.

A notable result of the war has been the increase in the solidarity of the American

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nations. Early in 1943 Vice-President Henry Wallace made a flying tour of several nations of Latin America. Enthusiastic audiences hailed him in Panama, Peru, Chile, and Bolivia. Bolivia celebrated his arrival with a declaration of war against all three members of the Axis. This not only illustrated the growing enthusiasm for the United Nations cause, but guaranteed full use of Bolivia's important economic resources in the struggle.

On April 20, 1943, occurred one of the most significant events in the history of Pan-American relations. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, personifying the "good neighbor," traveled to Monterrey, Mexico, to meet and confer personally with President Manuel Avila Camacho of that republic. The friendship and co-operation of these two neighboring nations was symbolized in this visit. President Camacho expressed well the point of view of the United Nations when he said, "In order to bring about such a living together, we must above all destroy the machinery of barbarism constructed by the dictators." He expressed his admiration for the war effort of the United States in these words: "The enthusiasm with which your young men have rushed to the battle areas and their bravery in offering their lives for the redemption of the oppressed awake in us an austere and a continental pride."

In his response, broadcast to the entire world, President Roosevelt made this brief address, which well expresses the achievements and the problems of the co-operating American republics:

"Your Excellency's friendly and cordial expressions add to the very great pleasure which I feel at being here on Mexican soil.

"It is an amazing thing to have to realize that nearly thirty-four years have passed since chief executives of our two nations have met face to face. I hope that in the days to come every Mexican and every American president will feel at liberty to visit each other just as neighbors visit each other—just as neighbors talk things over and get to know each other better.

"Our two countries owe their independence to the fact that your ancestors and mine held the same truths to be worth fighting for and dying for.

"Hidalgo and Juárez were men of the same stamp as Washington and Jefferson.

"It was, therefore, inevitable that our two countries should find themselves aligned together in the great struggle which is being fought today to determine whether this shall be a free or a slave world.

"The attacks of the Axis powers, during the past few years, against our common heritage as free men culminated in the unspeakable and unprovoked aggressions of December 7, 1941, and May 14, 1942, and the shedding of blood on those dates of citizens of the United States and of Mexico alike.

"Those attacks did not find the Western Hemisphere unprepared. The twenty-one free republics of the Americas during the past ten years have devised a system of international co-operation which has become a great bulwark in the defense of our heritage and our future.

"That system, whose strength is now evident even to the most skeptical, is based primarily upon a renunciation of the use of force and the enshrining of international justice and mutual respect as the governing rule of conduct by all nations.

"In the forging of that new international

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policy the role of Mexico has been outstanding.

"Mexican presidents and foreign ministers have appreciated the nature of the struggle with which we are now confronted, at a time when many nations much closer to the focus of infection were blind.

"The wisdom of the measures which the statesmen of Mexico and the United States and of the other American republics have adopted at inter-American gatherings during recent years has been amply demonstrated....

"They have succeeded because they have been placed in effect, not only by Mexico and the United States, but by all except one of the other American republics.

"You and I, Mr. President, as commanders-in-chief of our respective armed forces, have been able to concert measures for common defense. The harmony and mutual confidence which has prevailed between our armies and navies is beyond praise. Brotherhood in arms has been established.

"The determination of the Mexican people and of their leaders has led to production on an all-out basis of strategic and vital materials so necessary to the forging of the weapons destined to compass the final overthrow of our common foe.

"In this great city of Monterrey, I have been most impressed with the single-minded purpose with which all the forces of production are joined together in the war effort.

"And Mexican farm workers, brought to the United States in accordance with an agreement between our two governments, the terms of which are fully consonant with the social objectives we cherish together, are contributing their skill and their toil to the production of vitally needed food.

"Not less important than the military cooperation and the supplies needed for the maintenance of our respective economies, has been the exchange of those ideas and of those moral values which give life and significance to the tremendous effort of the free peoples of the world.

"We in the United States have listened with admiration and profit to your statements and addresses, Mr. President, and to those of your distinguished foreign minister. We have gained inspiration and strength from your words.

"In the shaping of a common victory, our peoples are finding that they have common aspirations. They can work together for a common objective.

"Let us never lose our hold upon that truth. It contains within it the secret of future happiness and prosperity for all of us on both sides of our unfortified border.

"Let us make sure that when our victory is won, when the forces of evil surrender—and that surrender shall be unconditional—then we, with the same spirit and with the same united courage, will face the task of the building of a better world.

"There is much work still to be done by men of good will on both sides of our border.

"The great Mexican people have their feet set upon a path of ever greater progress so that each citizen may enjoy the greatest possible measure of security and opportunity. The government of the United States and my countrymen are ready to contribute to that progress.

"We recognize a mutual interdependence of our joint resources.

"We know that Mexico's resources will be developed for the common good of humanity.

"We know that the day of the exploitation of the resources and the people of one

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country for the benefit of any group in another country is definitely over.

"It is time that every citizen in every one of the American republics recognizes that the good-neighbor policy means that harm to one republic means harm to every republic.

"We have all of us recognized the principle of independence. It is time that we recognize also the privilege of interdependence—one upon another.

"Mr. President, it is my hope that in the expansion of our common effort in this war and in the peace to follow, we will again have occasion for friendly consultation in order further to promote the closest understanding and continued unity of purpose between our two peoples.

"We have achieved close understanding and unity of purpose. I am grateful to you, Mr. President, and to the Mexican people for this opportunity to meet you on Mexican soil, and—to call you friends.

"You and I are breaking another precedent. Let these meetings between presidents of Mexico and the United States recur again and again and again."

As the writing of this unit is being completed, the United Nations are girding themselves for the decisive phases of the war. Around the world events begin to herald the approach of the final days of the Axis. Rommel's vaunted desert army has been forced to surrender, Sicily has been captured, Italy invaded, and the air forces of the Allies pound German and Italian industries remorselessly, while Russia continues its gallant all-out war on the invading Nazis.

In this preparation for victory American nations take full part. Food, munitions,

supplies, ships, and armies, these are the contribution of the Western Hemisphere toward a global victory over the Axis. Neither nations nor continents may remain aloof from the affairs of a closely interrelated world.

Somewhere the future—perhaps distantly, possibly not too distantly—holds the certain victory of the nations allied to destroy barbarous aggression and tyranny. In that victory, too, Pan-American nations will play an important role. In a world of normal trade these nations will share and exchange their wealth among free nations. When a system of international co-operation is sought, the world may find example and precedent in the progress of civilized diplomacy in the Western Hemisphere. The might of the Western nations will be awesome in its power, but it will be might exercised in the cause of justice. The self-discipline of decent nations will assure that military strength will be an instrument for peace and security, never a threat to nations that, though small, are proud and free.

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APPENDIX A

Study Aids

Methods of Procedure

The time allotment for this unit may be very flexible. If the unit is followed closely as a basic text, its chief purpose could be well accomplished in from four to six weeks. With the use of special activities, wide reading, visual aids, projects, etc., it could be expanded to twice that length very profitably. It would be well for a class to utilize every possible resource toward gaining experience and perspective in approaches to Latin America. The following are general suggestions toward broadening the scope of the unit and thereby increasing its meaning and value:

1. Get guest speakers who have traveled in Latin America to present information and points of view. Near-by colleges may have students from those nations who are available for talks and interviews.

2. Try to get the co-operation of other departments in the school in correlating their work with this unit. Music, art, and literature might make valuable contributions in this way.

3. If possible, utilize films to add reality and to motivate the study. The visual aids available on this subject are remarkably good.

4. Take the subject out of the classroom. Prepare exhibits and bulletin boards to call the study to the attention of the entire school. Organize assembly programs to present dramatically important aspects of what you have learned in this unit.

5. Read widely, to the fullest extent of your time and resources. Enlist the co-operation of the librarians in putting interesting materials forward.

Notes on Materials

Each school will probably find that the development of this unit will be largely limited by

the extent of its library facilities. There is a tremendous amount of good reading on this subject, but to include an exhaustive bibliography would be useless to the majority of classes. The author of this unit believes that classes will find most valuable the list of sources of free and inexpensive materials. These sources are well worth inquiring into and should be investigated before beginning the study of the unit. Books are listed from experience in teaching this material in communities where library facilities were virtually unlimited. A suggested minimum library is listed on the basis of experience in using these materials with high-school classes.

Magazine articles are too numerous to be listed. The bibliographies suggested herein furnish suggestive lists of the best. Here again, each class will be limited by the library resources of the school and community. Student committees may well be set to work investigating and compiling lists of articles in available periodicals. Especially valuable will be your files of the *National Geographic*, *Fortune*, *Harper's Magazine*, *American Observer*, and *Reader's Digest*.

1. SOURCES OF FREE AND INEXPENSIVE MATERIALS

From the following sources classes may receive bibliographies, free and inexpensive pamphlet material, film lists, suggestions of other sources of material, etc. This list is suggestive only, not exhaustive.

Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 444 Madison Avenue, New York
National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
National Geographic Society, Sixteenth and M Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Pan American Union, Washington, D. C.

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United States Office of Education, Federal
Security Agency, Washington, D. C.
Foreign Policy Association, Inc., 22 East 38th
Street, New York

The Day is New
*This is Ecuador**
*Venezuela**

2. COMPREHENSIVE BIBLIOGRAPHIES

- ADLER, BETTY. *Latin America, Books for North American Readers*. American Library Association, 520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago.
- BARRY, ELIZABETH, and GOETZ, DELIA. *Children of the Other Americas*. Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Washington, D. C.
- Latin America* (a list of articles published in the *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union). Division of Intellectual Co-operation, Pan American Union, Washington, D. C.
- Latin-American Backgrounds, A Bibliography*. National Education Association of the United States, 1201 Sixteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Films

The Office of War Information (Bureau of Motion Pictures), Washington, D. C., furnishes a list of United States War Information Films. You may secure these sound films at a nominal rental directly through your state distributor, who is listed in this bulletin.

Partial list of titles available (asterisks indicate those most useful in connection with this unit):

- Americans All**
*Argentine Primer**
*Argentine Soil**
*Brazil**
Brazil Gets the News
Buenos Aires and Montevideo
Colombia
*Colombia, Crossroads of the Americas**
*Fiesta of the Hills**
Fire and Water
High Spots of a High Country (Guatemala)
Introduction to Haiti
Mexican Moods
*Mexico Builds a Democracy**
*Our Neighbors Down the Road**
Patagonian Playground

Erpi Classroom Films, Inc., 35-11 Thirty-fifth Avenue, Long Island, New York, has produced a number of good sound films on Latin-American subjects. These may be obtained from many educational-film distributors. Most useful with this unit are the following eleven-minute reels. These are well conceived from the educational standpoint.

- ARGENTINA: *People of Buenos Aires; Land of Mexico*
BRAZIL: *People of the Plantations; People of Mexico*
CHILE: *People of the Country Estates*
PERU: *People of the Mountains; Arts and Crafts of Mexico*

A Serviceable Small Library for Use with this Unit

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- CARLSON, FRED A. *Geography of Latin America*. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1941.
- CARR, KATHERINE. *South American Primer*. Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., New York, 1939.
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- GREEN, PHILIP LEONARD. *Our Latin American Neighbors*. Hastings House, New York, 1941.
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APPENDIX A

- JONES, TOM B. *An Introduction to Hispanic American History*. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1939.
- KIRKPATRICK, F. A. *Latin America, A Brief History*. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1939.
- RIPPY, J. FRED. *The Caribbean Danger Zone*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1940.
- STRODE, HUDSON. *South by Thunderbird*. Random House, Inc., New York, 1937.
- TOMLINSON, EDWARD. *New Roads to Riches in the Other Americas*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1939.
- WEBSTER, HUTTON, and HUSSEY, ROLAND DENNIS. *History of Latin America*. D. C. Heath & Company, Boston, 1941.
- WERTENBAKER, CHARLES. *New Doctrine for the Americas*. The Viking Press, New York, 1941.
- WHITBECK, R. H., and WILLIAMS, FRANK E. *Economic Geography of South America*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1940.
- WHITE, JOHN W. *Argentina, The Life Story of a Nation*. The Viking Press, New York, 1942.
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- GIBSON, HUGH. *Rio*. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., New York, 1940.
- GOETZ, DELIA. *Neighbors to the South*. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1941.
- GRISWOLD, LAWRENCE. *The Other America*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1941.
- GROOCH, WILLIAM. *Winged Highway*. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1938.
- HANSON, EARL P. *Chile: Land of Progress*. Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., New York, 1941.
- HENAS, JESÚS MARÍA, and ARRUBLA, GERARDO. *History of Colombia*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1938.
- KELSEY, VERA. *Seven Keys to Brazil*. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York, 1940.
- KLUCKHOHN, FRANK L. *The Mexican Challenge*. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., New York, 1939.
- LATANÉ, JOHN HOLLADAY, and WAINHOUSE, DAVID W. *A History of American Foreign Policy* (2d rev. ed.). Doubleday, Doran & Company, New York, 1940.
- LEVENE, RICARDO. *A History of Argentina*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1937.
- MASON, GREGORY. *South of Yesterday*. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1940.
- MOORE, DAVID R. *A History of Latin America*. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1942.
- PECK, ANNE MERRIMAN. *Roundabout South America*. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1940.
- PREWETT, VIRGINIA. *Reportage on Mexico*. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, 1941.
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- SIMPSON, LESLEY BYRD. *Many Mexicos*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1941.
- VON HAGEN, VICTOR WOLFGANG. *Ecuador, the Unknown*. Oxford University Press, New York, 1940.
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- FERGUSON, ERNA. *Venezuela*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1939.

Projects and Problems for Discussion

Chapter One

1. Compare and contrast the methods used by the English and Spanish in developing and governing their colonial empires.

2. Give a floor talk on "The Civilization of the Mayas and the Aztecs."

3. Write biographical sketches of such famous liberators of Latin America as San Martín, Bolívar, Sucre, O'Higgins.

4. Give a detailed report on the Tacna-Arica controversy.

5. Make a time line of the principal developments in Latin America's history.

VOCABULARY AND IDENTIFICATION

Latin America	<i>Casa de Contratación</i>
mercantilism	<i>Consejo de Indias</i>
favorable balance of trade	<i>Audiencia</i>
empire	mestizos
colony	mulattoes
<i>conquistadores</i>	zambos
captaincies	<i>caudillo</i>

Chapter Two

1. Superimpose a tracing of a map of South America on one of North America to compare their respective areas.

2. Draw a map of Latin America, indicating its principal seaports and their distances from New York, London, or other world ports.

3. Write a paper on "Tropical Diseases and How Science Combats Them."

4. In parallel columns list ways in which the geography of Latin America has been favorable to its development and ways in which it has offered handicaps.

VOCABULARY

Tropics	humidity	isolation	localism
plateau	habitable	staple crops	diversity

Chapter Three

1. Arrange a bulletin-board display of various Latin-American types.

2. Write descriptive themes about famous cities of Latin America.

3. Utilize films, if available, to take the place of an actual tour of Latin America.

4. Invite guest speakers who have traveled in Latin America to tell you of their impressions.

5. Have various members of the class read up on certain nations of Latin America; then in a socialized discussion bring out as many interesting items of general background information as time will allow.

VOCABULARY

potential source	bureaucracy
buffer state	gauchos

Chapter Four

1. Topics for debate:

Resolved, That the expropriation of foreign oil properties was an intelligent act on the part of the Mexican government.

Resolved, That the *ejido* system is the best solution of Mexico's agrarian problem.

2. Organize a panel discussion on one of these topics:

The Promise of Mexican Education

The Pros and Cons of the Cárdenas Regime

3. Write editorials on various aspects of Mexico's political activities since 1917.

APPENDIX B

4. Construct a time line of Mexican political changes since 1823.

5. Topics for research:

The United Fruit Company in Central America
Costa Rica: A Central-American Democracy

6. Subjects for biographical sketches: Emiliano Zapata, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Pancho Villa, Porfirio Díaz.

7. Get someone who has driven along the Pan-American Highway to Mexico City to describe the trip to the class.

8. Conduct a socialized discussion on the question "Why is Mexico's future so important to Latin-American development?"

VOCABULARY

expropriation	peons	mestizo
ejido	filibusterer	haciendas

Chapter Five

1. Compare the farming system of the Argentine with that of the Middle West; with that of the plantation South.

2. Debate this issue: *Resolved*, That the United States should buy large quantities of Argentine beef.

3. Conduct a socialized recitation on the problem "Why is it easier for the United States to trade with Brazil than with Argentina?"

4. Topics for research:

Farming Methods on the Pampas
Life of Agricultural Workers in Latin America
Agricultural Methods of the Peruvian Indians
Coffee-growing in Brazil
How Sugar Cane Is Raised in Cuba

5. Have members of the class stage an imaginary argument between an Argentine industrialist and an Argentine rancher on the advantages of a protective tariff for Argentina.

VOCABULARY

commercial farming	estancias	terra roxa
subsistence farming	pampas	specialization

Chapter Six

1. For the role of air transport in Latin America, read and report on Hudson Strode's *South by Thunderbird* or Hager's *Wings over the Americas*.

2. Why has transportation been slowly developed in many parts of Latin America?

3. Discuss this issue: "Would Latin America be better off if it were more highly industrialized?"

4. Draw maps of the railroads of Latin America, the highways, the air routes, the waterways.

5. Debate topic: *Resolved*, That the use of foreign capital has in general been beneficial to Latin-American nations.

6. Book review: *New Roads to Riches*, by Edward Tomlinson.

7. Floor Talks:

The Trans-Andean Railroads
Pan American Airways
The Amazon River as a Highway
The Pan-American Highway

VOCABULARY

export commodity	"infant industries"	royalties
foreign capital		tariffs

Chapter Seven

1. Have one student make a special study of Latin-American music. Arrange a record program of Latin-American music for the class.

2. Prepare bulletin-board displays of clipped pictures and sketches to show the following:

The Arts and Crafts of the Indians of Latin America

Spanish Influence on Latin-American Architecture

The Old and the New in Latin America
Latin-American Art

3. Debate this question: *Resolved*, That the Argentinian secondary-school system should be copied throughout South America.

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4. Write reviews of current American movies, criticizing them from the point of view of their possible effects on Latin-American audiences.

5. Arrange a panel discussion on one of these topics:

Social Reforms in Latin America
The Future of Latin-American Education
Latin-American Literature

6. Arrange for a school party having a Latin-American motif.

7. Conduct a socialized discussion of "Latin-American Recreation Compared to That of the United States."

8. Floor talks:

Family Influence in Latin-American Life
Customs of Courtship and Marriage
A Description of a Mexican Fiesta
A Bullfight
Student Life in a Latin-American University

VOCABULARY

cultural influence	public health
social institutions	social legislation

Chapter Eight

1. Topics for research:

The Growth of the Monroe Doctrine
The Maximilian Affair

2. Why did the United States acquire an unsavory reputation in Latin America? To what extent can you justify United States policy before 1920?

3. Have the class sit as a platform committee to draw up a set of principles that the United States should follow in its relations with Latin America.

4. Conduct a panel discussion on "Economic Relations of the United States with Latin America."

5. Construct a time line of United States and Latin-American relations since the Monroe Doctrine was announced.

VOCABULARY

privateers	intercultural understanding
arbitration	unilateral
intervention	materialistic
protectorate	

Chapter Nine

1. Collect cartoons and newspaper articles dealing with Latin-American relations to the Second World War.

2. Floor talks:

The *Graf Spee* Incident
The "Destroyer Deal" with England
Fifth-Column Evidences in Latin America
Strategic Importance of Latin America

3. Discuss this question: "Does Argentina's present foreign policy make sense?"

4. Draw a map of Latin America, showing the locations of its strategic resources.

5. Panel-discussion topics:

Pan-American Co-operation during the Present World Crisis
The Role of Latin America in a German-Dominated World.

6. Conduct a socialized discussion on "Latin-America's Role in the Postwar World."

VOCABULARY

hemispheric solidarity	interventionist
Fifth Column	neutrality
strategic	isolationism
infiltration	



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